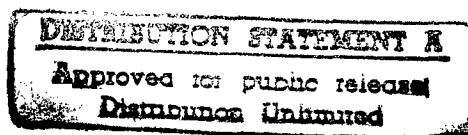




JPRS Report



Near East & South Asia

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REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Four Scenarios for Outcome of Arab-Israeli Conference

91AE0591A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
14 Aug 91 pp 12-15

[Article by Wahid 'Abd-al-Majid of the Center for Political and Strategic Studies at the Egyptian AL-AHRAM newspaper]

[Text] Although it is still too early to discuss the possible outcome of the negotiations that would follow the start of a Middle East peace conference, we are nonetheless called upon to fathom the horizons of these negotiations based on the goals and visible and hidden weaknesses and strengths of the negotiating parties. Extremely important in this regard are the methods which would be employed by Israel. Israel would be entering these negotiations with the goal of avoiding territorial concessions. That might mean that Israel's interest does not lie in concluding the negotiations, which would run counter to the Arab negotiators' interest. Another factor to consider is the possibility of changes in the negotiators' domestic and regional circumstances and conditions. Here too, important changes could bear on Israel's negotiating position. These changes could occur naturally (the holding of general elections before negotiations are concluded) or artificially (the government's resort to holding early elections to escape from some predicament). Precedents exist regarding such artificial changes. The most salient is Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir's preference to see his government fall following a no-confidence vote in the Knesset in March 1990 rather than to put forward a positive response to U.S. proposals for arranging a Palestinian-Israeli dialogue in Cairo at the time.

The following scenarios depend on the reasonable assumption that negotiations will be held in general bilateral committees from which subcommittees would emanate subsequently.

In this framework, if the negotiating process begins in the autumn of 1991, one could speak, in principle, of four possible scenarios, each with varying chances of materializing. This is taking into account the different factors that would bear on the course of the negotiations.

The First Scenario

The collapse of negotiations after a brief period: This is considered the least likely scenario, although it seems the most logical at first sight given the major disparity between Israel's negotiating position and the positions of the Arab negotiators in the different bilateral committees. The principle of "land for peace," which Israel rejects and which the Arabs insist on, is the crux of this disparity, which lies within the context of a substantive difference over how to read and interpret Security Council Resolution 242.

This scenario's underlying assumption is that these two positions will clash in the negotiations, making it impossible for the negotiations to continue for more than a few weeks due to the difficulty of arriving at a generally agreed-upon interpretation of Resolution 242, especially if Israel continues to adhere to its interpretation, which the Arabs deem to be in violation of international legality.

Israel's interpretation is that Resolution 242 does not require it to withdraw from all of the territories that it seized in the 1967 War, and that 242 does not treat it as a hostile, aggressor state. Israel's interpretation also advocates a negotiated settlement to achieve peace and security for the region's countries. Accordingly, in negotiations, Israel will maintain that it implemented the resolution's provision regarding territory when it withdrew from Sinai, which represents 90 percent of the total area which Israel seized in 1967, and that negotiations should therefore focus on the peace process and the normalization of relations between the region's countries. Because Israel would be hard pressed to make a similar argument regarding Resolution No. 425—which unequivocally requires Israel to withdraw immediately and unconditionally from Lebanon—Israel would, according to this scenario, probably show a willingness to withdraw from Lebanon, although it would link such a withdrawal to an agreement to establish normal relations with it, not only on the part of Lebanon, but also Syria, based on the special links that now exist between these two Arab countries. In this scenario, Israel would not withdraw from the Golan Heights, which would, of course, be unacceptable to Syria and probably Lebanon as well.

However, this scenario does not rule out the possibility of progress being made in the Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian committee, or the Israeli-Palestinian committee if the Israeli-Jordanian-Palestinian is divided into two committees, as is likely. At the same time, it is assumed that the Arab countries will coordinate with each other to ensure progress in all of the committees, not just some of them. This assumption is based on a declared Syrian position that stresses that the final result of negotiations must be a comprehensive solution, i.e., that there be peace between the different Arab parties and Israel, which rules out the acceptance of partial solutions.

This scenario of the rapid collapse of negotiations, though ostensibly very logical, nonetheless continues to be the least likely. This leads to a counter-assumption, which is that entering negotiations is not like exiting them. Israel is probably well aware that pushing the negotiations toward an impasse leading to their collapse could impose conditions on it which it has long sought to avoid, conditions that would entail the referral of the entire matter to the United Nations and the Security Council if negotiations collapse. Israel, which is aware of the probable consequences of the collapse of negotiations, would probably seek to avoid a collapse and would not risk, contrary to some observers' expectations, a

withdrawal from negotiations. This is especially the case, inasmuch as Israel could resort to successive maneuvers, which would lead to the second scenario (detailed below). Or, Israel could focus on trying to generate progress in the negotiations of the Israeli-Palestinian committee, which would lead to the third scenario (detailed below).

The Second Scenario

The continuation of the negotiations for a protracted period without any progress: The assumption underlying this scenario is that complications in the negotiations will permit the Israeli negotiator to inundate the Arab negotiators in the different committees with dozens of small details and minor aspects requiring lengthy study. This assumption rests on the experience of the Egyptian-Israeli autonomy negotiations, which were based on the second framework that was agreed at Camp David in September 1987 (the framework for peace in the Middle East). These negotiations, which began in April 1980 and lasted for more than two years, entered into minute details in dozens of sessions at the ministerial and technical levels. In 1982, Egypt finally realized that it was futile to continue them.

However, differences between circumstances then and now make it difficult to analogize. Then, the autonomy negotiations were the focus of intense Arab and international debate. Israel thus had nothing to fear in the event that the negotiations continued for a long time or until they collapsed, which actually happened. Moreover, the failure of the negotiations gratified many Arab circles, even Egypt itself, after Husni Mubarak entered office with several foreign policy approaches differing from those of his predecessor, Anwar al-Sadat. Notable in this regard was President Mubarak's preference to end the "Camp David problem" in Egyptian-Arab relations. Also, there was no unified international situation as there is now, because the world was still divided into two blocs, and the Soviet Union opposed Camp David.

Thus, at that time, Israel faced no danger when the autonomy negotiations became protracted, which led to their collapse. However, the current situation differs substantially. Israel now fears the dangers stemming from protracted negotiations devoid of progress. These risks are the same as those that would stem from the collapse of negotiations, because the continuation of unproductive negotiations would entail either UN intervention in the negotiations or the emergence of a trend to refer the matter to the United Nations.

Israel could also try to give the impression that progress was being made in some committees to the exclusion of others. If this scenario is more likely than the first scenario, it seems less likely than the third scenario.

The Third Scenario

Unbalanced progress in negotiations: The assumption underlying this scenario is that the opportunity for

achieving progress could be greater in the Israeli-Palestinian committee than in the Israeli-Syrian committee. This is attributed to the problem of the Golan Heights, which seems more difficult than the problem of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip for several reasons, the most important being:

A. The Golan, unlike the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, was annexed by Israel under a law promulgated by the Knesset on 14 December 1981. The annexation of the Golan makes negotiations over it and its return to Syria more problematic.

B. There is a quasi-consensus in Israel on the importance of retaining the Golan for security reasons. This consensus stands in contrast to the extreme divisiveness that surrounds the question of how important the West Bank and Gaza Strip are from a security standpoint.

C. The problem of the West Bank and Gaza Strip can be handled through a phased or gradual program, which would begin with autonomy for a specific period before negotiations were held on a final solution. Many ideas and judgments have been put forth in this regard since Camp David. However, the same prospects of a phased approach do not seem to be in the offing regarding the Golan, because it would be difficult to find a temporary solution before reaching a final formula regarding the Golan. Therefore, the third scenario assumes that negotiations in an Israeli-Palestinian committee can achieve progress if the Palestinian party concludes that a phased solution pertaining to autonomy does not preclude the possibility of realizing its hopes at a later time, especially if an agreement can be reached on an unequivocal timetable. This does not mean that negotiations in this committee will proceed smoothly. However, according to this scenario, these negotiations will probably be less difficult than those in the Israeli-Syrian committee, where negotiations will focus at the very outset on the issue of sovereignty and withdrawal.

However, the question is: What will the Arab position be in this scenario? According to the first scenario, Syria's position is that progress in negotiations must be comprehensive, i.e., the results of negotiations conducted in the different committees must be linked. However, unlike the assumption underlying the first scenario, in which unbalanced progress is likely to lead to the collapse of negotiations, this third scenario assumes that it would be difficult to relinquish possible progress in one committee because of difficulties encountered in another, especially if the progress concerns the Palestinian problem, thought generally by the Arabs to be the core of the conflict. Nonetheless, this scenario raises a question as to whether the problem of the Golan Heights is completely adverse to a solution. The prevalent belief is that the Golan problem can be resolved on the basis of the same equation underlying the solution to the Sinai problem reached by Egypt and Israel, namely an Israeli withdrawal in exchange for the demilitarization of most of Sinai. In the case of the Golan, the compactness of its area could dictate its entire demilitarization (Mt.

Hermon and the heights) as well as the stationing of international forces and the positioning of early warning systems there.

This scenario assumes that Israel would not accept such a solution and would use all possible means to maintain its control over the Golan Heights, thus creating a state of unbalanced progress in the negotiations. In such a case, it could be expected that progress in the Israeli-Palestinian committee would be an incentive to make greater efforts in the Israeli-Syrian committee. Israel would be compelled to offset the difficulties in the Israeli-Syrian committee by putting forth concessions regarding Lebanon in the Israeli-Lebanese committee, which means that the subject of the Golan in the relevant committee would continue to be open to negotiation, especially inasmuch as progress regarding the West Bank and the Gaza Strip would be in the framework of a provisional solution that would have to be monitored. However, this scenario does not entirely rule out the possibility that Syria and Israel will reach a compromise solution at a later time, especially if a political change occurs in Israel, which leads to the fourth scenario.

The Fourth Scenario

The course of negotiations is affected by domestic developments in Israel: This seems to be the most probable scenario, even if we rule out intentional tinkering with domestic developments by Shamir to avoid making certain concessions in negotiations. It is worth noting that a resort by Shamir to early elections would not mean the collapse of negotiations, but rather the postponement of negotiations until after elections—elections that would not be likely to return the Likud to power. If early elections are held, the Likud would have to wage an election campaign against the United States itself for the first time in the history of Israel, most of whose voters realize how risky this could be. However, if Shamir does not fabricate circumstances necessitating early elections, it is certain that the next, regular elections for the Knesset would occur on 1 November 1992, while negotiations are still in progress. If the conference is held in October 1991, it would likely be held toward late October, which means that actual negotiations would not start before January 1992. It is difficult to predict what the negotiations might yield at the start of an election campaign in Israel.

However, if progress in the Israeli-Palestinian committee materializes, it is assumed that the first signs of this progress would have begun at least to appear. In that case, the election results would be decisive. If the Labor Party wins, this progress could be deepened quickly based on the Labor Party's acceptance of the "land for peace" principle, especially regarding the West Bank and the Gaza Strip. In this connection, the Labor Party is willing to relinquish the entire Gaza Strip and two thirds of the West Bank and accept a Jordanian-Palestinian federation (not a confederation) based on defined security conditions that can be negotiated with the Palestinian component of this federation.

Hence, it would be possible to dispense with the autonomy phase in favor of this solution if the Labor Party forms a new government. If the Likud returns to power with a composition similar to the existing one, the only solution would be to continue moving toward a phased solution based on the start of autonomy. Perhaps the most problematic result of elections would be the formation of a coalition government between the Likud and the Labor Party. The problem here is that disagreements between the two might lead to paralysis, which would have a negative effect on the negotiating process and might require holding new elections after a brief period.

Regarding the Golan, a Labor victory in elections in 1992 would not change Israel's negotiating position substantially. However, Israel would perhaps adopt a softer line on such a solution as the Sinai equation (withdrawal and demilitarization). A return to power by the Likud, on the other hand, would mean the continuation of a hardline Israeli stance toward such a solution, which might cause the Golan to become a stumbling block regarding the future of the negotiations, barring agreement on another compromise solution that does not encounter the same Israeli hard line. At the same time, this is not the only way in which the Golan problem can be handled. Even if the Likud returns to power, Shamir could relinquish the premiership of the new government upon or shortly after its formation due to his health (he is over 76), inasmuch as he is approaching the moment when it will become difficult for him to continue bearing the burdens of public life.

Jaffee Center Report on Gulf War Reviewed

TA0509195991 Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew
5 Sep 91 p 3

[Article by Eytan Rabin]

[Text] The new report of the Jaffee Center of Strategic Studies, "War in the Gulf: Implications for Israel" has been published. The report states that the Gulf war opened up an opportunity before Israel to integrate itself in a guaranteed peace process and to devote most of its resources to development and immigrant absorption, against a backdrop of a reduced Arab military threat. If it will not do so of its own will, it is possible that the United States will impose such a course on it.

The report, composed by a Center staff of researchers since the conclusion of the war, presents—in its 18 chapters—analyses, conclusions, and lessons with regard to the influence of the war on Israel.

The report examines the implications of the war from many perspectives: political, military, economic, and social. Deputy head of the Center, Joseph Alpher explains the need for a sort of public report of the war because of—among other reasons—"the tendency in

Israel to repress the last war and to prevent any confrontation with the lessons and implications derived therefrom and with the traumatic experiences endured by the public."

The reversal of the coup in the Soviet Union and developments there since then do nothing to change the conclusions of the Center members. Alpher, who—in the book—reviews the implications of the war with another researcher, Dr. Shai Feldman, believes that the United States is today turning to Arab rulers and promising them the guarantee of an administration, which is preparing to be in the region and to push the political process over the next five and a half years.

The Bush administration is, therein, asking—specifically the PLO and the Palestinians—to see American commitments as promises which it will be possible to realize during the course of a continued process. Alpher believes that, to the extent which Israel enters into the political process, there will be "accompanying pressure of the United States"—that is to say that the United States will accompany and pressure, even in the long-term.

According to him, there have been two far-reaching changes in the Israeli position as a result of the Gulf war. First of all, the Likud government has changed its approach to Jordan. From an approach that was characterized by the slogan "Jordan is Palestine" two years ago, the Likud moved—on the eve of the Gulf war—to support for the regime of King Hussein and to requesting that Jordan fill the role of a neutral buffer during the war, as it indeed was.

After the war, Alpher said, the Likud turned into the main champion of the King, in an attempt to convince the American administration to integrate him into the political process. The second change in the Israeli approach was on the matter of arms control and supervision—when, today, Defense Minister Moshe Arens takes an open and far-reaching approach, as opposed to his predecessor in the job.

As for Syria, Alpher believes that there is a strategic change in the Syrian conception—less as a result of the war and more because of global changes such as the fall of the Soviet Union and the rise of the United States. At the same time, the war demonstrated the need to change [its] orientation to Damascus.

Alpher says that it is not clear what type of negotiations the Syrians plan to conduct and if they really desire direct negotiations. It is also not clear what peace they intend to propose—real peace or much less than it.

Alpher believes that there has also been a change in the Saudi position, which is expressed in its willingness to forgo the boycott of Israel. Regarding the PLO and the Palestinians, Alpher claims that one of the paradoxes of the current situation is that—despite the drop in their prestige as a result of their support for Saddam

Husayn—there is high probability that the PLO could be integrated into the process and even cast a veto on the entire process.

Alpher summarizes: "I think that the possibility of delay in the opening of the conference is quite possible, given the changes and the problems in negotiations with the Palestinians. On the assumption that we do enter into the process in the coming months, the possibility of early elections in Israel is great and—in a good case—there will be a very extended process before us, which will be accompanied by the same American escort which I noted earlier," said Alpher.

The head of the institute, Major General (res.) Aharon Yariv, concludes the report. In his words, "the Arab world is still divided in the wake of the Gulf war. Therefore, its political strength has weakened and the status of the Palestinians—including the status of the PLO, in general—has been particularly weakened."

"The strengthening of security ties between Israel and the United States, in the wake of the war, is certainly an important advantage for Israel us. While it is true that Syria has been strategically strengthened, Iraq—in the near future—is out of the game. Above all else, it appears that—this time—there is a chance to arrive at peace with our neighbors," Yariv said.

Egypt Sets Conditions for Improved Ties to Yemen

91P40434A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
28 Aug 91 p 7

[Text] As basic conditions for the resumption of normal relations with Yemen, for permission to exchange official delegations, and for President 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih's visit with President Husni Mubarak in Cairo, Egyptian authorities have demanded that Yemeni Foreign Minister 'Abd-al-Karim al-Iryani: return all fishermen unlawfully held by Yemeni authorities, improve their treatment, and pay all money due to Egyptian teachers and workers in Yemen who decided to end their contracts with Yemen on the grounds of substantially worsening conditions there.

Egyptian Foreign Minister 'Amr Musa laid down Cairo's conditions to the Yemeni foreign minister during a meeting with him last week, in which they explored the restoration of relations and the reconciliation of Yemen's and Egypt's diplomatic and political positions on all Arab issues and developments.

Egyptian Official on Investment Changes in Gulf

91AE0583A London SAWT AL-KUWAYT in Arabic
18 Aug 91 p 8

[Interview with Dr. Muhi-al-Din al-Gharib in Cairo; "Gulf Area Shall Witness Establishment of Military Industries and Technological Advancements;" date not given]

[Text] The chief of the executive board of the Egyptian General Investment Authority, Dr. Muhi-al-Din al-Gharib,

told SAWT AL-KUWAYT that security measures shall remain the top priority in the Gulf area as a key starting point in supporting economic and social development projects and protecting the nation and its citizens. He said that a climate of security and stability is necessary if trade and investment activities are to be resumed in the entire Arab region.

At the beginning of the interview, Dr. Muhi-al-Din al-Gharib reviewed the most salient repercussions that the brutal invasion has had on Kuwait and the Arab nation. He said that the serious flaw in the Arab economic system was due to this flagrant aggression, and that it would take a long time, perhaps as long as ten years, to restore vitality to this system, thereby surmounting the most serious crisis in Arab history.

He added that, to be sure, the severe blow that shocked the Arab economic system has had a direct and strong impact on the balances of political, security, and social relations in the area, and has extended to its relations with regional and international powers.

Consequently, economic and social development programs are facing a major predicament because of the recession and stagnation that afflicted economic, trade, and investment activities, thus adding to inflation rates, unemployment, and capital flight. Moreover, a number of Arab and foreign investment and trade companies have suspended their activities due to loss of confidence and lack of stability in the region.

Dr. Muhi-al-Din al-Gharib said that, "notwithstanding all the dimensions of this serious crisis, we can concede one basic fact, which is that the Gulf states have been able to embark on a new phase to surmount this crisis, and are trying to derive lessons from all the negative results caused by the aggression."

Stability Shaken

[SAWT AL-KUWAYT] How do you view the changes in the Arab economic system one year after the aggression?

[Dr. al-Gharib] Based on the assessment of the aftermath and the repercussions of the brutal invasion of Kuwait, security has become the top priority in drawing up any kind of agenda for the new Arab order. This priority in the Gulf region shall retain its importance and special quality as a key starting point in backing economic and social development projects, and protecting the people and their property in the future. If we are talking about providing a climate of security and stability in the strategic region that enjoys a major economic and financial weight, that objective is basic and necessary for the resumption of trade and investment activities in the entire Arab region. This is particularly with regard to bringing back the estimated \$150 billion of Arab capital that has fled the country because of the loss of confidence following the Gulf crisis. We are afraid that if we fail to expeditiously restore security and stability to the Arab and Gulf economies, this capital may not return.

I believe this requires clarity of vision among the Arab countries and their leaders so that we may determine the fundamentals of joint Arab action and the need to link security and development to the advancement of the Arab economic system in a way that would serve the common interests of the peoples of the region.

Major Transformations

[SAWT AL-KUWAYT] What are the regions most important concerns because of the changes that have occurred since the invasion of Kuwait and the aggression on Arab national security?

[Dr. al-Gharib] The region is definitely embarking upon major transformations in its policy and in the strategy of its national and pan-Arab activity. This calls for an agreement on the formulation of a common Arab position to confront these challenges caused by the Gulf crisis.

I imagine that the near future will require new security and political arrangements for the Gulf region to chart the course of any new political, economic, and social developments in strategic Arab cooperation in the next stage.

Thus, we have noticed the emergence of a strong trend in the Gulf region toward the establishment of military industries and the modernization of certain advanced technological feeder industries that require exceptional skill and huge capital, which can be acquired through the participation of several countries in establishing these projects.

Furthermore, the Gulf crisis has imposed new concepts on Arab countries that have political, economic, and military weight, such as Egypt and Syria. This calls for the diversion of various investments and capital to these countries to bolster Arab production and economic capacity, which is a key to boosting the military and strategic capabilities of those countries that played a key role in helping Kuwait and the Gulf countries defeat Iraqi aggression.

Based on the new concepts the Gulf crisis has caused, Egypt will definitely play an extremely important role in this phase, both in terms of drawing up security arrangements for the Gulf area, bolstering its military and strategic capabilities, and contributing to the establishment of Gulf military industries. This lends great importance to the Damascus Declaration, which represents a basic point of departure for achieving political and economic security and for securing power and stability in the Arab region.

We must not overlook the emergence of new trends toward bolstering the democratic and social development establishments and their link to the development of services and achieving stability for the people. Add to

that the emergence of other trends directing most of the Arab and Gulf countries to draw up policies to curb spending, rationalize consumption, boost their output capacity, and transform Gulf society from a consumer society to a more productive society.

Consequently, the Gulf governments are appealing to big businessmen, companies, and financial and investment firms operating in foreign capitals to move their business to the area to contribute to the establishment of a Gulf industrial sector. This is an important and essential trend in the upcoming stage.

Huge Loss

[SAWT AL-KUWAYT] What is your assessment of the costs of the aggression and reconstruction, and their ramifications on the future of the Arab economy?

[Dr. al-Gharib] No matter how you look at it, the effects of this treacherous aggression against Kuwait represent a loss to the entire Arab economy, and its impact has shaken the Arab order itself. Whereas it is difficult at this point, even one year after the invasion, to fully assess the damage, international figures on the cost of the invasion and reconstruction may amount to between \$250 [billion] and \$300 billion.

Add to that the exodus of half a million Arab and foreign nationals from Kuwait, and two million from Iraq because of the invasion, and one can imagine the extent of the damage done to the area's labor market. This is not to mention the interruption of many development projects in the Gulf and Arab world, the closure of many manufacturing companies, the suspension of tourism and construction work, and the flight of capital that may not return any time soon. Every city on the Arab map is now suffering unemployment, a downturn in trade exchanges, and a freeze on all investment and services projects. Hence, prices have been raised to cover the countries' need for revenue that used to depend on remittances by citizens working in the Gulf.

According to the latest official reports, losses suffered by the Egyptian economy since the outbreak of the Gulf crisis now amount to about \$20 billion. Banking market proceeds are still suffering a severe deficit in revenues from Egyptian remittances, and some tourist projects have been halted or gone bankrupt. Tourism is still in bad shape, and the government has to come up with additional revenues to provide employment for unemployed workers returning from the Gulf.

This, of course, is besides the downturn in trade in the Arab region, the postponement of most development and economic cooperation programs at the Arab level, and the government development and services projects that had to be delayed or canceled.

[SAWT AL-KUWAYT] How can confidence in the Arab economy be restored, and what lessons can be learned from the bitter experience of the Gulf crisis?

[Dr. al-Gharib] The Gulf crisis has demonstrated the importance of establishing an Arab economic system based on a clear vision, true disclosure, and the principle of common interests and strategic integration within the framework of the Arab League, its charter, and its specialized institutions. We may notice that, following the changes in West Europe, the Soviet Union, and East Europe—and as the world turns toward strong economic blocs, such as a united Europe in 1992 and the United States-Canada-Mexico bloc, besides the Asian bloc that includes Japan and the four panthers—namely South Korea, Hong Kong, Singapore, and Taiwan—one can detect a state of divisiveness and instability in the Arab economic system that has been exacerbated by this flagrant invasion and set back several decades. Thus, it is incumbent upon the Arab leaders to move quickly to reformulate a new Arab order and to support and coordinate among the existing economic groupings to confront this great challenge represented by the emergence of colossal economic blocs in North America, Europe, and Asia. Otherwise, we would be living on the other side of the fence in isolation and backwardness whose impact would be devastating, not only to one area, but to the Arab economy as a whole, in spite of the Arab region's unlimited economic and strategic weight, represented in its tremendous wealth of oil, minerals, water, and cheap labor, as well as its trade and investment market, its financial prosperity, and its capital, which is capable of moving and investing in all fields.

I believe that we need to reevaluate the movement of Arab capital because, while the rate of interregional trade is no more than seven percent, we import \$40 billion worth of foodstuffs. This imbalance in the Arab economic system certainly calls for a time-out to draw up new rules and regulations for a new Arab order, taking advantage of the lessons learned from the Gulf crisis with all its political, security, and economic dimensions, and restoring credibility and confidence in joint Arab action by virtue of its leaders' foresight.

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Editorial: U.S. Treats Us Like American Indians

91AE0600B Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 10 Aug p 15

[Column by 'Abdallah 'Awwad: "We Are Not the Red Indians of the Middle East"]

[Text] It seems that the Bush administration is currently attempting to revive its historical "black" experiment to eradicate the red Indian people, but this time the subject is our Palestinian people, whom it hopes to exterminate after they enter the 21st century as the red Indians of the Middle East.

This is what is indicated by Bush's policies based on continued disregard for Palestinian people's right to self-determination, to establish its own state, and to enhance and preserve its personal identity as a people

with its own national, historical, and civilizational characteristics. There is no other explanation for Washington policies that ignore the cry of more than 5 million Palestinians who represent the people of Palestine historically, presently, and in the future.

The Bush administration would be committing a major historical folly if it mistook the Palestinian people for the red Indians of the Middle East and believed that they can be exterminated, their personality dissipated, and their national identity eliminated; or if it believed that it can impose peace and a political solution on the region over the dead body of Palestinian national rights. It would be committing a folly of historical proportions, because our people's roots go back thousands of years. Its civilization and cultural identity have crystallized over long years on the surface of this earth. Our people have developed a historical and future awareness of its right to sovereignty and self-determination.

America, in dealing with our Palestinian people, ignores those profound facts imbedded in the consciousness of all classes of our people. It does not yet comprehend that no military, economic, or political power can destroy the tiniest idea, not to mention a people's consciousness, history, hopes, and aspirations founded on established historical and geographical fact.

The Bush administration is betting that it can isolate our people from other Arab peoples by taming Arab regimes. It fails to realize that no matter how violent or excessive those regimes are in their treatment of Palestinians in their lands, they have been unable to quell the historical consciousness of the Arab peoples or their conviction, on the basis of that consciousness, that the people and land of Palestine are part and parcel of Arab peoples and lands.

It would be possible for America to impose a settlement between Arab regimes and the other party through Camp David-like accords at the expense of our people's right to establish its own state on its own land. But America would be guilty of the greatest folly in history if it believed that such agreement or agreements would herald a new age of peace and stability in the region.

The people of Palestine will never be the red Indians of the Middle East. We say "never" on the basis of the facts of history and the realities of the present and also of the future.

Our people are not red Indians and will never be, despite the pressures and propaganda presently aimed at it. No one has the right to participate in a conference or sign an agreement that would bind our people for decades to come. There is no point, therefore, in highlighting the Palestinian dispute against the current political relapse of our cause, because that dispute can only serve U.S. policies intended to turn our people into the red Indians of the Middle East.

West Bankers, Gazans on Peace Conference

91AE0600A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 10 Aug pp 17-10

[Article: "Palestinian Opinion: Peace Conference Participation; Palestinian Representation; Just and Comprehensive Peace; Security Guarantees in Region"]

[Text] Since the Gulf crisis ended, the United States has attempted to fulfill the commitment it made during the crisis to use international legitimacy to resolve the Arab-Israeli conflict. But the United States once again turned its back to everything this legitimacy has to do with the [Palestinian] cause, as it seeks to crystallize a purely American solution where international legitimacy is a weak observer removed from pushing resolutions mandated for Palestinian rights.

The American initiative, in short, keeps pressure on the Arabs and Palestinians while offering Israel guarantees and memoranda of understanding.

The turbulence stirred by American efforts and Baker's trips to the region has given rise to many viewpoints on issues of Palestinian interest, such as participation in the conference, representation, Jerusalem, and the settlements. Each of those issues is, in itself, worthy of internal Palestinian debate.

In view of the above, and of AL-BAYADIR's policy of keeping a finger on the pulse of the masses in the occupied territories and how they and their leaders view important issues, we sought our people's opinions on the two main issues of the proposed peace plans—participation in the regional conference and Palestinian representation.

Here is what was said in that regard:

Father 'Awdah al-Rantisi: "We, as a people, are not incapable of representing ourselves where our causes are involved. We [should] have the option to name our representatives without pressure from any source. No other party has the right to mandate or suggest representatives or appointees. Israel, as any other country, must agree to the international conference in order to resolve the problems of the region, and especially the Palestinian cause. There is no way to settle this issue without free representation by the Palestinian people."

Dr. Samirah Katibah: "I favor any kind of Palestinian representation that would lead to the realization of long-standing Palestinian demands for self-determination and other rights. Palestinian representatives should have enough support to be able to negotiate from positions of strength for clear and established goals."

Journalist Khadr Tubasi: "Palestinian representation is not supposed to be segmented. Representation should be through the PLO. The national aspirations and rights of the Palestinian people should not be subverted and the Jerusalem issue should not be ceded."

Laborer Hasan Sharakah: "I do not accept this situation. I will accept it only if it is accepted and approved by the PLO, our sole representative."

Husayn Farah (member of the Labor Federation's Executive Committee): "We accept whatever is acceptable to the PLO, especially since it has not ceded primary Palestinian demands. We, as a people, deserve to represent ourselves."

Muhammad Abu 'Abd (student): "The PLO is our sole representative. We will not succumb to American pressures and solutions and we shall not become sheep herded by Uncle Sam."

Najah Najdi (office worker): "We participate and we love peace, but representation should be through the PLO."

Yusri al-Barbari: "I do not support participation by a Palestinian delegation under American conditions and Israeli restrictions replete with conditions and exceptions. The future of the Palestinian people goes beyond autonomy for the occupied territories, which the Palestinian people have rejected since Camp David. I call upon the Palestinian leadership inside and outside [the territories] to insist on Palestinian demands as spelled out in the National Charter."

Dr. Haydar 'Abd-al-Shafi: "I would support Palestinian participation only if settlement operations in the occupied territories come to halt. The issue of Palestinian presentation is one of dominion and can not be relinquished."

As'ad al-Saftawi: "I support participation with one small condition—The Palestinian/Jordanian delegation and the American delegation must [first] agree clearly and in writing on what the objectives of the initiatives are. The American side must then commit to those stated objectives."

"It is common knowledge that this is our only option. The only other course would be to let Israel dictate its will and pursue its objectives in the territories without restraint or international oversight. This is especially true because the Arab confrontation states have accepted these American initiatives without reservations."

Attorney Fayiz Abu Rahmas: "The Palestinians must have unrestricted freedom in choosing their representatives. Any limitations in this regard would be contrary to the concept of free negotiations. The Palestinians have the inalienable right to freely name, without intervention, whomever they want to represent them at the conference."

'Abd-al-Fattah Hamid: "The Palestinian people demand a just peace, and the realization of such peace should be on the basis of resolutions by the international legitimate authority that articulate the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to establish its independent state, on its soil, under the leadership of the PLO, its only legitimate representative. Initiatives or conferences leading to

the realization of those objectives would therefore be acceptable to the Palestinian people. The main obstacle to a just peace, however, is the United States and its laxity in implementing the resolutions of the international legitimate authority."

Dr. Zuhni al-Wahidi: "We have made known our ultimate objective of participation in the conference, nomenclature aside. That objective is to establish a state on Palestinian land in accordance with such reiterated demands as the right of return and the right of self-determination."

"I don't see any possibility of that under current American proposals, but I believe that anything is possible in politics. Palestinian insistence on choosing our own representatives and on our right to Jerusalem does not mean that we are obstructing peace."

"I believe that the Americans and the Israelis still have the ball in their court and that they should reciprocate this affirmative Palestinian outlook which, if they waste it, may never recur."

Attorney Muhammad Hashim Abu-Sha'ban: "There must be Palestinian participation in the current initiative. I prefer it to Palestinian absence or deficiency, even though the American proposals are very treacherous in that they clearly disregard all Palestinian entitlements from the right to representation, to independence and self-determination; they totally scorn international legitimacy; and they comply with the Israeli-imposed plan. Therefore, and in light of the frightful Arab position, there must be a strong Palestinian presence and representation in order to establish the precepts and confirm the PLO as the sole and legitimate representative of this people, which is entitled to self-determination and independence, and to forcefully put forth its position on all issues at all meetings and conferences."

Dr. Mahmud al-Zahhar: "There are several reasons why I am not in favor of participation in the conference. The elements for a resolution are neither salable nor appropriate. A weak Palestinian stance can only lead to more weakness and the ladder of concessions will therefore lead to the abyss. Israel is willing to discuss neither Jerusalem, the occupied territories before 1948, the lands occupied after the 1967 [war], the Golan [Heights], nor the south of Lebanon. On what basis, then, will there be peace? The Arab element is in its worst position. The leaders of Arab countries are serving their American master and therefore, any gains we make with them or with the entire world would not be worthy of our trust. We should not place our cause in the world's hands, because it is unfair and its Security Council shows nothing but blind obedience to America. Proof is in Security Council resolutions on the Gulf crisis, which were not so long ago that they are forgotten."

Dr. Ahmad al-Yazji: "Current proposals are a negation of the right to self-determination and the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own state. They do not emphasize Israeli withdrawal and they disregard the role

of the PLO. Those are long-stated Palestinian demands for which the Palestinian people has sacrificed and struggled. The Palestinian people is now being asked to accept less than the Shamir plan and to surrender Jerusalem. If the Palestinian people rejected the current offering, what will it be able to do in view of the lifeless Arab corpse, of unprecedented Arab weakness, and of the sweeping torrent of [Israeli] settlements?

"That is a riddle without an answer. Is the Palestinian people its own master and can it say yes or no? I don't believe so!"

Bassam al-Shak'ah: "American designs and objectives are well-known and aim at dominance and at preserving Israeli as the main center of power and interest in the region."

Sa'id Kan'an: "Participation in the proposed regional conference is perhaps one of the most difficult issues faced by the PLO. Non-participation by the PLO would give the Arab states that have abandoned the regional dimension free rein to deal with the Israeli negotiator to foster their country's interests at the expense of Palestinian interests and of Arab national interests. The abandonment by the Arab League of its Arab national obligations leaves the PLO in a difficult and dangerous position. If it distanced itself from the conference, it would open the way to unilateral deals at the expense of Palestinian national rights. If it took part, [it would find] that the proposals on the table are feeble solutions with little flexibility that only allow feeble autonomy for the population, but not for the land. The PLO is being asked to sign away the Palestinian cause and to abandon the Palestinian people's future and its sacrifices."

Dr. 'Abd-al-Sattar Qasim (lecturer at al-Najah University): "I do not support any Palestinian participation in that conference, which is primarily intended to subdue the Arabs and liquidate the Palestinian question. It offers no opportunity for realizing the Palestinian aspirations of independence and self-determination."

"It would be better for the Palestinians to work outside the conference in order to influence its course, since they will have no particular leverage on the inside, especially when the Palestinian arena is beset with severe Palestinian weakness."

'Atif Sa'd (journalist): "I do not favor participation in the regional conference because the proper vehicle for us should be the Security Council, and not America, which talks to us in the language of Gen. Schwarzkopf, but [the Security Council talks] with soft words instead of bullets and bombs."

"America seeks to exploit the recent imbalance of power in the region and to clothe the Palestinian people with a suit custom-made to American taste and measurements. This is unacceptable. We, the Palestinians, seek the implementation of international legitimacy. It is my view that the United States continues to deal with the international legitimate authority on the bases of its own

standards, rather than those of fairness and justice and of the United Nations. We demand that international legitimacy be applied to the Palestinian cause in as comprehensive a manner as it was applied to the Gulf crisis."

Nidhal Hajji (a citizen): "I do not favor participation for a very simple reason. America wants to dominate the Arab nation from the Gulf to the sea. The Palestinian question is the only difficult number it faces and it is attempting to eliminate it by neutralizing the PLO."

Nayif Abu-'Ayshah [member of the Writers' Federation]: "The American proposals are not responsive to the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people. Consequently, the proposed peace conference will not guarantee recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, such as establishment of an independent Palestinian state in the West Bank and Gaza. A suitable vehicle for any solution to the Arab-Israeli struggle would be a fully-empowered international conference attended by the five permanent members of the Security Council and which would guarantee effective participation by an unconstrained Palestinian delegation selected by the PLO."

Dr. Hazim Hasan: "I do not support participation because American conditions do not meet the minimum demands of the Palestinian people. Those proposals mean the obliteration of the PLO and are essentially a conspiracy to destroy the Palestinian people and its accomplishments."

Qadri Sahab (university student): "I do not support Palestinian participation in this conference because it would not help realize the ambitions and aspirations of the Palestinian people. We therefore call upon the PLO to boycott the conference."

Shakir Radaydah: "I believe that conditions in occupied Palestinian lands are putting the Palestinian people face-to-face with numerous conspiracies and problems that should be avoided by all ways and means. American administration proposals to resolve the Arab-Israeli struggle and put an end to the Palestinian tragedy do not meet our minimum hopes and aspirations for an independent Palestinian state. However, the lamentable Arab reality dictates that we, the people of Gaza and the West Bank, show flexibility towards any proposal for delivering us from the current stalemate, under which we are deprived of all privileges that would have qualified us to establish a state. Should this situation continue, our cause will dissipate between inter-Arab struggles and enemy efforts to obliterate our cause and end our very existence. I therefore favor participation in the conference, as long as the Palestinian representatives have PLO consent and approval."

Jamal [Salsi]: "We welcome the conference for peace if it is to be held on the basis of implementing Security Council resolutions. It would have a good chance of success if it committed to the rights of the Palestinian people and the PLO, the people's legitimate and only

representative, by granting it its national, civilized, and human right to self-representation away from political haggling and deals.

"If it were left for Palestinian representation at the peace conference to decide how the other participants would be represented, then we would have taken a first and proper step towards peace. If the conference is to be held in order to negotiate how United Nations resolutions are to be interpreted and implemented, and in the absence of the legitimate right for proper Palestinian representation at the conference, then we would be taking a step towards murkiness and instability.

"The conference's credo should be clear in that it will be held under the aegis of international legitimacy, that it targets implementation of Security Council resolutions, and that it is clearly committed to the concept of land for peace."

Yasin Radhi: The proposed regional peace conference was a natural outcome of the pre-Gulf war stage. It is intended to placate American-Arabs, reward Israel for its feigned neutrality during the crisis, exploit conditions of desperation and dissension in the Arab world, and lure the Arab regimes that believe that America is the sole policeman of the world, to shed off the burden of the Palestinian cause by supporting American solutions. The decision to hold this conference followed the conspiracy to evict the PLO from Lebanon and to deny it a role in the conference because of its support for Iraq. The conference is yet another justification for destroying vital targets in Iraq after gaining Arab silence.

"The absence from the conference of the legitimate and sole representative of the Palestinian people, the rejection of the Palestinian people's right to name its own spokesmen, bargaining for Jerusalem, and the denying the Palestinians representation via an independent delegation mean the ouster of the Palestinian role and the Palestinian people, and the imposition of American-Israeli solutions on the Arab nation.

"That conference is a settlement conference—a new Camp David—and will not end up in granting our people its rights. I therefore believe it is a mistake to chase after that mirage of a conference. We, as Palestinians, should participate as full-fledged members with international guarantees as a people with rights and aspirations. Failing that, we should not surrender our national rights to anyone and should reject partial settlement plans that are part of programmed information and populist campaigns."

'Isa Ahmad 'Abd-al-Ghaffar from al-Dukhaylah: "In any international peace conference that debates the Palestinian cause, I first examine how responsive it would be to my aspirations as a Palestinian who, at a minimum, craves independence and longs for his own independent state. I would also consider the countries which will oversee the plan—will it be America by itself, or America in cooperation with European countries, including the

Soviet Union and others? It is my opinion, as a Palestinian, that participation by a Palestinian delegation representative of the Palestinian people will be one method of Palestinian participation in the peace process. At this stage, when a regional conference is proposed in preparation for an international summit, I, as a Palestinian or simply as a human being, may at first glance feel that this has got to help the Palestinian people. On second thought, however, I realize that Israel cannot relinquish or give up a lot for the Palestinian people, who will be satisfied with nothing short of a Palestinian state. That would be totally unacceptable to Israel and America will obviously not particularly pressure it into acceptance. Any one who believes differently should consider the Gulf war. America would never endanger the security of Israel. This why I believe that the conference will not be materially influenced by the presence or absence of a Palestinian delegation. It would be better for us, or at least more honorable, if we did not participate. Enough sedatives and con games."

Sami 'Abdallah: "I applaud Moscow's statement at the end of the recent Bush-Gorbachev summit and consider it a serious beginning for the peace process in the Middle East. That statement sets the peace caravan in motion. I say that because we, the Palestinians, are most in need of peace. We are the ones who suffer daily and who must live with the tragedy of continued Arab-Israeli conflict. We have long called for such a conference, but negotiations must be based on the concept of land for peace, not the peace-for-peace designs Israel has on such a conference.

"Withdrawal from all occupied lands, including Jerusalem, should be the basis for negotiation. There is also the issue of Palestinian representation, which is nobody's concern but the Palestinians' and the PLO's. No other party should have veto rights in that regard.

"We support such a conference and realize that the end result will depend on the how the centers of powers stack up, and they are, of course, favorable to Israel. At the conference, we should coordinate with participating Arab delegations and should press for our rights on equal footing with all the parties."

S.N. (student at Bethlehem University): "The U.S. proposals and the absence of a balance of power in the world bends the region to the United States' wishes, as the only super power capable of controlling the fate of the entire world, including the socialist regimes that have fallen into the American trap.

"Therefore, our participation as Palestinians in the proposed regional conference will bring us nothing but sorrow and will place our dreams in the Israeli basket to be traded off until it is time for peace.

"I therefore believe that we should not participate in that conference except with an independent Palestinian delegation whose members, for various obvious reasons, hail from outside the occupied territories. But the

trading process will continue and we, as Palestinians, are better off without those negotiations if they are not going to be fruitful."

The mother of martyr Ibrahim Ahmad Hassan: "They have mired us and our sons in fantasies in the late sixties and early seventies when we were offered more than we ask now. And for what, I don't know!

"They want peace. Let them have it and let's see how we will fare.

"They want a solution; let us give the solution they want. God has created no creature uglier than a monkey, and here we are waiting for what Hafiz al-As'ad, Husni Mubarak, and others will dole out to us. "Tomorrow the snow will melt and the hidden layer will be exposed."

"We want peace, but not the peace of traitors and cowards. We want to live in peace and quiet to enjoy our rights that were suppressed by Israel and Arab traitors."

BAHRAIN

Quarterly Report of Bahrain Monetary Agency Issued

91AE0589A Manama AKHBAR AL-KHALIJ in Arabic
4 Aug 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] The Bahrain Monetary Agency recently issued its quarterly report on the results of the operations of foreign banking units and commercial banks in Bahrain and the volume of domestic liquidity and credit facilities during the first quarter of 1991.

The report states that the assets and liabilities of the 51 foreign banking units totalled \$51.5 billion at the end of March 1991, which is a drop of \$8.4 billion, or 14 percent, compared to December 1990. The aggregate balance of the commercial banks increased by 88 million dinars, or 3.8 percent, from 2,307.5 million dinars at the end of 1990 to 2,395.5 million dinars at the end of the first quarter of 1991.

An analysis of the transactions of foreign banking units shows that loans to patrons other than banks comprised 16.6 percent of total assets, whereas deposits comprised 29.5 percent of total liabilities. The Arab countries' liabilities totalled \$30.7 billion (59.5 percent of total liabilities), whereas loans granted to the Arab countries totalled \$21.9 billion or 42.6 percent of the overall total. Western Europe's liabilities and assets totalled \$10.7 billion (20.8 percent of total liabilities) and \$10.5 billion (20.3 percent of total assets) respectively. The liabilities and assets of off-shore market centers totalled \$2.9 billion (5.7 percent of total liabilities) and \$3.7 billion (7.1 percent of total assets), respectively.

The quarterly report indicates that the commercial banks' assets/liabilities increased by 81.1 million dinars or 4.3 percent to total 1,952.4 million dinars, compared to 1,871.3 million dinars in December 1990.

The private sector's deposits at the end of the first quarter of 1991 increased by 47.1 million dinars or 5.7 percent to total 872.6 million dinars compared to 825.5 million dinars at the end of 1990. On-demand deposits increased by 34.2 million dinars, term deposits increased by 5.9 million dinars, and savings deposits increased by 7 million dinars [compared to the end of 1990].

Deposits in Bahraini dinars totalled 515.9 million dinars, an increase of 39.9 million dinars, or 8.4 percent, compared to the end of 1990. Deposits in foreign currency totalled 356.7 million dinars, an increase of 7.2 million dinars, or 2 percent compared to the end of 1990.

Public sector deposits at the end of the first quarter of 1991 increased by 43.2 million dinars, or 6.7 percent, to total 545.3 million dinars, compared to 511.1 million dinars at the end of 1990.

Interest-bearing accounts totalled 443.1 million dinars at the end of the first quarter of 1991, compared to 436.2 million dinars at the end of 1990, an increase of 6.9 million dinars or 1.6 percent.

Credit facilities provided by commercial banks to resident economic sectors at the end of the first quarter of 1991 totalled 594.9 million dinars, compared to 635.8 million dinars at the end of 1990, a drop of 40.9 million dinars or 6.4 percent. This drop is distributed among a number of sectors.

Expansion To Give ALBA Second-Largest Smeltery

91AE0589B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
11 Aug 91 p 11

[Text] Manama—The organizational committee of the International Arab Aluminum Conference, ARABAL, held its second meeting in Kuwait Last Thursday. Participants included representatives of the general secretariat of the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC], the Gulf Investment Organization, the conference's permanent secretariat, and the aluminum industry in the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Egypt, and Kuwait.

Industrial sources in Bahrain, which has the world's second-largest aluminum plant after the Soviet Union, said that Bahrain will bring up the issue of regulating the aluminum industry in a carefully studied manner once the expansion of the Aluminum Bahrain (ALBA) factory is completed. Such regulation would be intended to preclude the flooding of the market with aluminum, the accumulation of production, and a resultant drop in aluminum prices.

ALBA's general director of financial affairs, Mr. Ahmad Salih al-Nu'aymi, stated that "the company set up worst-case scenarios in a study which it presented to the banks to convince them to approve loans for the company's expansion project. We cannot disclose these scenarios for commercial reasons, since they would reveal production costs."

He added: "The project's economic feasibility was ascertained in detailed studies conducted with the participation of international banks directly concerned with the financing process." He indicated that loan agreements pertaining to the project were signed with 46 banks on 15 December 1990, when the region was in a state of war, adding that if the lending banks had any doubts about the project's feasibility or the stability of conditions in Bahrain, they would have postponed signing the loan agreement until the picture became clearer, or they would have withdrawn from the financing process, especially inasmuch as the agreements' provisions entitle them to do so.

Regarding the possibility that the construction of aluminum smelteries in the GCC countries will result in the flooding of the market with aluminum, the accumulation of production, and a consequent drop in prices, al-Nu'aymi stated: "An increase in demand of 2.5 to 3.5 percent is expected over the long term. This increase should be accompanied by the expansion and development of aluminum production in the region."

He added: "A number of smelteries in East Europe have shut down due to high costs or environmental problems. Hence, it is expected that there will be a demand for the region's aluminum production, which will force prices up."

ALBA specializes in producing high-quality raw aluminum. The company's success has spawned the establishment of several processing industries. A major factor underlying the construction of a smeltery in Bahrain is the presence of a large natural gas reserve in the al-[Khuf] Field, which can supply the enormous thermal energy required by the aluminum smelting process.

ALBA was founded pursuant to a permit issued by the Emir of Bahrain, Shaykh 'Isa Bin-Salman al-Khalifah on 9 August 1968 and is owned by three shareholders:

- The Bahraini Government (74.9 percent).
- The Saudi General Investment Fund (20 percent).
- The German Breton Investment Company (Germany) (5.1 percent).

Since May 1981, when the smeltery was dedicated officially, ALBA has expanded to become a firmly established smeltery with an international reputation for quality production and operational efficiency.

Yusuf Ahmad al-Shirawi, who is ALBA's chairman of the board, as well as development and industry minister and acting minister of state for cabinet affairs, states: "Without doubt, ALBA and the flourishing aluminum industry branches that emerged following the establishment of the smeltery now form a vital foundation of Bahrain's future prosperity and occupy a prominent position in the state's program to expand industry and diversify national income sources."

Minister Shirawi adds: "The implementation of the large smeltery expansion project will further strengthen economic development and will net \$5 billion for the national economy in the next 20 years."

Expansion Project

ALBA's achievements at all of its production and support sites in 1990 have made that year one of ongoing success and growth. The most salient events in 1990 include the completion and activation of 76 additional cells on the third line and the start of work to build a fourth smelting line with an annual projected capacity of 235,000 metric tons.

In July 1990, an important step toward implementing the expansion project was made with the signing of bank loans worth \$650 million between ALBA and 46 commercial banks, including seven domestic banks.

Also, in December 1990, contracts for guaranteed credits totalling \$580 million were signed between ALBA and four international financing organizations to cover the importation of technology, materials, and equipment needed for the project from Germany, Italy, and Belgium.

In June 1990, a \$500 million contract was tendered for the construction and equipping of a new power station that will operate on combined energy sources to generate 800 megawatts [MW]. This station will double ALBA's generating capacity efficiently in exchange for a very slight increase in natural gas consumption. It will provide the electricity needed for the fourth smelting line and will later permit dispensing with the gas-operated turbines currently in use.

During 1990, ALBA continued its production activities amid major preparations for the expansion project, which will cost \$1.45 billion, and the modernization of the smeltery, which will cost \$110 million.

Net production in 1990 totalled a record 212,505 metric tons, which is 26,110 metric tons more than net production in 1989 and 3,121 metric tons more than the target set in the 1990 production plan.

The expansion project being implemented by ALBA will increase production from 210,000 tons to 270,000 and [then to] 460,000 tons per year, giving Bahrain the world's second-largest smeltery after the Soviet Union.

The project began in closed negotiations regarding planning, financing sources, and the tendering of contracts.

In June 1990, the Asea Brown Boveri Company won an \$800 million contract to build and equip a new electricity plant at ALBA which will operate on combined energy sources to generate 800 MW.

It includes six large turbines operating on natural gas, six boilers operating on recycled heat, eight steam-operated turbine generators, large air-cooling condensers, and secondary equipment.

The [Flacht] Company won the vapor treatment system contract for the purification and reuse of gases and vapor given off by the fuel drying furnaces and the smelting cells. If we take into account the new smelting line and the project to modernize the current smelting cells, the said tender can be considered the largest contract of its type in the aluminum smelting sector worldwide.

At the end of 1990, the value of commitments to the fourth smelting line project totalled \$1 billion, and 80 percent of the large tenders had been awarded. The fourth smelting line began to take shape in May. Since then, construction operations have been ongoing.

The initial phase of construction of the new ALBA electricity station included: preparation of a 75,000-square meter site; excavations for pouring the foundations, floors for the equipment, and buildings; and concrete pouring. The electrical generated by the gas turbines in the new station will be turned on in June 1992, and the station will be operating at full capacity (800 MW) by April 1993.

Aluminum and bituminous coal is unloaded at ALBA's port on the Island of Mardumah, which is owned by the company and located 10 km from it. These materials are then conveyed by a suspended cable rail to the smeltery's depots. Other material and equipment used in the factory is imported through the Salman port and transported overland.

To produce 205,000 metric tons of raw aluminum per year, ALBA needs: 410,000 metric tons of alumina, which is imported from western Australia; 100,000 metric tons of bituminous coal, which is imported from the United States; 24,000 metric tons of tar, which is imported from Europe or Australia; 8,000 metric tons of aluminum fluoride, which is imported from Jordan, and 3,000 metric tons of cryolite, which is imported from the United States and Italy.

Administrative Affairs

ALBA has expanded its training program for its more than 1,660 employees, of whom 87 percent are Bahrainis, by enrolling various crews working in the company in a number of specialized training courses to enhance their technical and operational skills.

During the year, it hired 23 mechanical and electrical assemblers as a first step toward achieving its goal of providing employment opportunities for Bahrainis on the fourth smelting line. These trainees will be enrolled in theoretical and practical training courses at the company's training center and at specialized institutes abroad.

ALBA has also introduced an in-factory training curriculum for the construction of thermal furnaces. All builders have completed this course. ALBA's training programs for senior company officials focus on refining administrative skills. During 1990, all managers were

enrolled in leadership courses in the United Kingdom. Those courses were for groups that perform a series of complex tasks.

EGYPT

Deputy Prime Minister on Politics, Food, Education

91AA0587A Cairo ROSE AL-YUSIF in Arabic
24 Jun 91 pp 10-15

[Interview with Deputy Prime Minister Dr. Yusif Wali by Yusif al-Sharif in Cairo; date not given]

[Text] This interview with Dr. Yusif Wali, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Agriculture, was perfectly timed.

In the wake of recent political and economic developments and of the Gulf war, Dr. Wali talks for the first time in his political capacity as secretary general of the National Democratic Party [NDP].

Dr. Wali, in this interview, responded fully, and then some, to questions and queries kindled by recent measures at home and developments abroad.

The secretary general of the ruling party discussed its relationship with the opposition and its attitude towards political undercurrents, the Islamists, and the Nasirists. Farm policy was not overlooked in the interview: What about international cooperation in agriculture, and how helpful is it?

The interview also touched on proposed amendments to the Agrarian Reform Law, and especially landlord-tenant relations and land grants to young graduates.

[al-Sharif] There is no doubt that an important aspect of your job is to be mindful of the daily problems of the people in order to find appropriate solutions for them. However, you mentioned in a [previous] discussion of the sales tax that it would result in price stability in both the short- and long- terms. That statement was vehemently criticized by various political parties and in the media, but you have not countered with a response or explanation, even though this important issue preoccupies public opinion.

[Wali] What I said, as did many senior officials, was that the sales tax would, in certain cases, lead to price reductions to the extent of the difference between the use tax and the sales tax. Prices would fall where the use tax is higher than the sales tax, since the former will be abolished. I usually respond quickly to the well-intentioned when a point or two escapes them. The tirades of those who are determined to criticize and malign using statistics they themselves know to be false—their tirades would soon dissipate under scrutiny by our intelligent people and by enlightened Egyptian public opinion.

[al-Sharif] You have called every once in a while for dialogues between the NDP and opposition parties, but nothing so far. Why is that? What national and patriotic issues would, in your opinion, be pertinent for such a long-awaited dialogue?

[Wali] Dialogues with the opposition are a firm policy of the NDP. [Dialogues help] identify points of agreement among us as Egyptian parties, which are far more numerous than points of disagreement. Besides, we all work in the national interest, which comes ahead of partisanship. As a matter of fact, I have had long dialogues with the opposition; some were bilateral and some were in an organized group context. We discussed subsidies and other issues, then we met again to discuss housing, education, prices, unemployment, and economic policy. The opposition suspended the dialogue because of the continued enforcement of emergency laws. We would have welcomed a discussion of that important subject and of our objective reasoning behind its continued implementation. We are presently working to restore the dialogue. We have apprised the [other political] parties of the amendments we propose to the law governing the relationship between farmland owners and lease-holders. We hope to arrive at a reasonable understanding of what the amendments should be. We believe that this issue, as well as the others previously mentioned, would be appropriate for future dialogues. Opposition parties would be equally entitled, of course, to bring up whatever issues they deem important.

[al-Sharif] Some people doubt the political, grassroots, and democratic veracity of opposition parties and accuse them of being tools and pawns of the ruling authority. Others charge that the political and grassroots activities of the opposition do not extend further than publishing a newspaper. Others believe that NDP dominance over the media and the executive branch is stunting the opposition and denying it access to the masses, or casting doubt on it whenever it poses a challenge to the government. Where does the truth lie?

[Wali] A fair-minded observer would have to recognize that opposition parties enjoy considerable freedom of expression and are able to explain their position on various issues, regardless of where the government stands.

Evaluating political activity is primarily the prerogative of party leaders and members themselves, which they would use to rectify partisan achievement and win grassroots confidence. The issues are ultimately determined at the polls in various elections.

[al-Sharif] Elections by list have been abolished, providing independents with better opportunities for electoral and democratic participation. This way of thinking, however, has yet to find expression in allowing the publication of independent newspapers as a requisite of the democratic process. The Nasirists and Islamists, both undeniably political and populist movements, are having great difficulty in publishing party organs. Why is that?

[Wali] I believe that freedom of expression is at the heart of this issue. A study of coverage by national newspapers alone would show that a lot of space is devoted to divergent viewpoints, regardless of affiliation. There is no doubt that national press, in the larger sense that also includes magazines, are far superior to party organs in this regard, thanks to wider circulation and larger readership base. The latter is the real test of the role of a newspaper.

[al-Sharif] Why this inflexibility in permitting those political and populist movements to be represented by their own parties?

[Wali] I also believe that existing parties provide all political trends and orientations in our country with an opportunity for political expression. This does not mean, however, that I would deny anybody the right to found a political party in the manner prescribed by law. That was the course followed by most of the political parties that now have a role in our political life.

[al-Sharif] Both ruling and opposition parties generally lack the systems and curricula for the political education or their rank and file, which consequently have no other avenues but meetings and demonstrations. What, in your opinion, are the reasons for this failing and how can it be corrected?

[Wali] This issue is an priority for the NDP, which has been keen to found institutes of national studies at the governorate level. Ten such institutes are now in existence with curricula covering a wide variety of subjects ranging from the philosophical ideology of the party to the design and implementation of local environmental projects. Some of these institutes are more active than the one in Cairo and are therefore intensely competitive. The institutes are primarily geared to youth groups who, after all, are the party's future.

[al-Sharif] There is no doubt that the NDP, same as any other, needs to review its organizational structure from time to time in order to amend and update its political and populist orientation and methodology in line with domestic and foreign developments and in order to correct failings and develop positives. President Mubarak has recently called for such an undertaking. How do you see the NDP changing?

[Wali] The NDP is ever-evolving, as is evidenced by its examination of its organizational chart, specially at the parliamentary level. This evolutionary process will take on a special significance, as President Husni Mubarak clearly expressed in his capacity as NDP chairman.

An important aspect of this evolution will be the election of leaders in the governorates as a prelude to the elections for various other positions in the party. This electoral process is an affirmation of the democratic process within the party. It is indeed a reality that we are engaged in a constructive democratic debate which some might misunderstand to be dissension. In truth, the age

of rigidity is over. A willingness to change is a sign of vigor and confidence in the future. It is also a prerequisite for longevity.

There is no doubt that the various aspects of the economic issue will come ahead of partisan issues and organizational processes for the immediate future. If support for economic reform is the responsibility of all Egyptian parties, then the majority party has to bear special responsibility in that regard.

[al-Sharif] The coalition has won the war in the Gulf, but there remain persistent threats to peace, stability, and Arab security. How does the NDP stand on Arab, regional, and international threats to Arab solidarity, security, and legitimate rights?

[Wali] Legitimacy was the winner in the Gulf war. The empirical way to establish peace and stability in the region is through implementation of the international precepts of legitimacy, as expressed in United Nations resolutions on other issues in the region. To do this would require diligent collective action by the Arabs on an international level.

[al-Sharif] What role, what vehicle, and what political and intellectual initiatives does the NDP envision for healing Arab rifts and restoring Arab solidarity in the wake of the Gulf crisis?

[Wali] We should collectively espouse the real interests of our nation in face of the developments in today's world and we should go about that in a determined, studied manner unhampered by outmoded political romanticism. Egyptian policies in recent times have certainly reflected that in a practical way, then the Gulf crisis erupted and highlighted Egypt's pivotal role in collective Arab action.

And now to the vehicle. The Arab League, now that Dr. 'Ismat 'Abd-al-Majid has been unanimously elected secretary general, will lead collective action and its specialized agencies will look after projects generated by bilateral and regional collaboration among countries of the Arab nation.

[al-Sharif] Action and reaction is the core of Egyptian-Sudanese relations which are confined to dealings with the lawful government, be it democratic or dictatorial. Do you see need for a strategy to put people-to-people relations between Egypt and the Sudan on a firmer basis that would be undisturbed by regime turnovers and changes of rulers? What would the characteristics and objectives of such a strategy be?

[Wali] It is a firm tenet of Egyptian policy to defer to the national interests of the Sudan and to respect the right of the Sudanese to make their own political decisions at all levels. Our social, cultural, and economic relations have been maintained at all times. Our Ministry of Agriculture was shipping to Sudan the wheat and corn seed it needed at the same time that our embassy in Khartoum was experiencing some demonstrations. This denotes a

true understanding of the commonality of interests between the two peoples and is recognized by both Sudanese and Egyptians, regardless of political vagaries.

[al-Sharif] By the way, why has agricultural cooperation between Egypt and Sudan stopped at the al-Damazin project? The venture was successful but no effort was made to expand this joint farming experiment that would guarantee the two peoples their food supply. Why? What about Libya's offer inviting emigration to about a million Egyptian farmers? What is the conclusion of the feasibility study and where is follow-up action?

[Wali] In addition to common interests, agricultural cooperation with Sudan now involves the exchange of world-class crop seeds and the creation of the Arab Company for Seed Production which is a joint venture with Libya and Syria.

The Libyan resettlement project is currently undergoing social and economic analysis as a prelude to devising a framework that would guarantee its stability and success.

[al-Sharif] There is debate now and then over whether it is worthwhile to cooperate in the fields of agriculture and production with foreign experts, foreign countries, and international organizations. What parameters govern such cooperation? How does Egypt benefit?

[Wali] International cooperation in agriculture represents a most important aspect of teamwork among nations, be it bilateral or within the framework of regional groupings or international organizations. Agriculture is at the heart of all kinds of development programs and it has its own international language that helps farmers all over the world safeguard their interests and exchange expertise. Our strategy for international cooperation in agriculture is based on directing the thrust of that cooperation to serve the interests of farm production in Egypt and to provide the automation we need in the race to transfer advanced technology to Egyptian agriculture. We have accomplished a lot in that regard. An outstanding example is our cooperation with the United States, and especially with the University of California, which has made high-quality vegetable and fruit seeds available to us. Such cooperation also affords Ministry of Agriculture employees a chance to receive all kinds of training at American universities and institutions.

Cooperation with Canada focuses on providing research institutions with advanced processes such as the technology for remote sensing and analysis of land, and soil improvement efforts in general.

We cooperate with France in the field of animal husbandry, with Japan in the production of seeds, and with Denmark in food production and animal husbandry. We are also involved in joint ventures with the UN Development Program and with the Food and Agriculture Organization. Cooperation with our Arab brothers is currently taking various forms; the most significant is the

founding of the Arab Seed Organization jointly with Syria, Libya, and Sudan. We are also engaged in extensive bilateral cooperation with Qatar, the UAE, and Kuwait in the areas of desert land reclamation; and with Syria and Sudan on seeds. Those are a few examples of the breadth of cooperation between Egypt and several countries and world organizations.

[al-Sharif] The concept of agricultural cooperatives in rural areas has no doubt gained prominence and validity in the days when feudalism was being liquidated and socialism initiated. Now, even farmers say that cooperatives seem to be in need of government regulation and supervision and of populist controls. Where would you say the cooperatives fall short and where did they make a positive contribution?

[Wali] Agricultural cooperatives are indeed in need of a new drive in light of current economic developments. These important economic units should focus on large productive projects, develop outlets for the distribution of means of production, and market members' products in a manner that would fully safeguard their interests.

The positive element here is the good examples set by many cooperatives so competently that other cooperatives would find them easy to follow, since they share laws and economic climate.

Agrarian reform cooperatives distinguished themselves with projects and with productivity. Fruit and vegetable marketing cooperatives also boast a long and successful history. We, as a ministry, are careful to preserve both the autonomy of the cooperative movement and the free choice of producers whether to join.

[al-Sharif] Some people claim that a new form of large family dominance is returning to rural areas even as feudalism has disappeared. Some even attribute the delay in issuing the Landlord-Tenant Law, in the interest of large owners, to pressure exerted by those families. Is there any truth to that and how is the government handling this situation?

[Wali] The allegation is patently false. The initiative to modify the relationship between farmland owners and lease-holders is intended to restore balance in light of new social and economic developments over the past few years.

[al-Sharif] How would you rate the experiment of endowing youths with reclaimed farmland? What is the primary purpose here: To provide young graduates with farm experience? Cooperatives? State support? Introducing stability by tying young people to the land? Return on production? And, finally, how about rumors that the lion's share of distributed land goes to NDP youths?

[Wali] We are about to evaluate this experiment, which is evolving in a positive way. Its ultimate objective is to create new societies based primarily on farm production. This takes time and requires continued interaction and

coexistence between the graduates and the environment that they will be experiencing for the first time.

We intended those new societies to be self-managing, but we will continue to provide financial and technical support, especially in marketing. Their products will always find outlets through the ministry's distribution centers. We are even willing to give them ownership [of distribution outlets] within the framework of our strategy to privatize productive agrarian units.

Youth projects are expanding. The number of land-endowed youths increased from 2,183 in the first year to 5,500 in the second year, to 11,000 in the third year, going to 15,000 in succeeding years.

The economic return on these farm units is also rising because productivity is improving and because they are giving impetus to supporting industries such as poultry farming, raising honey bees, and animal husbandry. These industries are constantly on the increase.

It is absolutely untrue that NDP youths have a monopoly over these awarded farms. There is no partisan dimension to applications or to those who test applicants on the basis of objective criteria that do not include party affiliation, of course.

Farm Policy

[al-Sharif] Agriculture is in need of a major overhaul. It might even be said that, as the experts put it, it needs a revolution to correct the negative impact of farm miniaturization, re-state production relationships, and bring farm workers to par with modern technological progress. What does the deputy prime minister and minister of agriculture have to say about this? How does he envision his ministry's role with regards to direction, planning, programs, and methodology of implementation?

[Wali] The accomplishments of Egyptian agriculture in past years was not a product of the recent present, but certainly the result of long years of constant effort to provide the basic needs of Egyptian citizens, as proven by the big boom in the farm sector. We have been able, thank God, to supply the added needs of 12 million people, which is the size of population growth over the past 10 years. Not coincidentally, the import gap is also shrinking as a whole, and will continue to do so until we close our doors completely to the import of a number of major crops. Statistics will bear me out. Cereal production has increased to some 14 million tons from about 8 million tons in 1982, thanks to improved wheat productivity from 9 to 16 ardebs [equals 5.6 US bushels] per feddan. Corn productivity increased to 17 ardebs per feddan. Rice production exceeded 3 tons, and sugar cane production increased to an average of 40 tons from less than 33 tons a few years ago. There is also a noticeable plethora of fruits and vegetables in the marketplace, which obviously reflects diligent productivity effort thanks to the success of Egyptian farmers in assimilating modern technology and following a structured planting

cycle in order to overcome such chronic problems of Egyptian agriculture as diminutive land holdings.

The ministry's primary role is in research, guidance, and the quality control of production requirements.

There is increasing attention to farming education [extension work] in order to develop this vital function to its fullest, which is a responsibility felt strongly by all Ministry of Agriculture personnel from the minister to the most junior researcher or specialist. This is why this sector is being connected to the research sector and will undergo a strong push in the next few years.

The issue of overhaul, or revolution, as you and others put it, is not the responsibility of the Ministry of Agriculture alone, even though it is the banner carrier. [A lot will depend on] competent coordination among the various ministries and agencies.

Most executive state agencies find coordination necessary and mandatory but, naturally, it is not possible for all these agencies to merge into one administrative unit. The Ministry of Agriculture has ties to the Ministry of Public Works, but its ties to the governorates or the Ministries of Industry, Supply, and Economy are no less important and necessary.

Certain projects, such as those for land reclamation, need prioritization by several state sectors. The lesson we learned from al-Tahrir Province is that success is a function of the aggregate collaborative efforts of the Ministries of Land Reclamation, Agriculture, Electricity, Irrigation, Health, Education, Interior, etc.

Food for the Future

[al-Sharif] Yes, we are experiencing an agricultural revival as reflected by the official figures you cited. But don't you think that statistics are not really reliable indicators or a true measure of our ability to meet our basic food needs in the future?

[Wali] It might seem that we are stopping to admire our accomplishments but the reverse is true. The farm sector is experiencing ever-increasing burdens, including the frightening rate of population growth, while our trade deficit persists.

The ministry has been attempting to attract to Egypt the branches and representatives of all international research centers, thereby benefiting to the utmost from their experience and advanced research in boosting farm productivity. We currently have three [research centers]—rice, wheat, and potatoes. Specific productivity goals for each farm crop and produce are targeted by the agricultural research strategy for the future, after completing the infrastructure for farm research institutions and supplying them with advanced scientific equipment. The United States, Canada, Germany, and France are helping us in that regard.

The availability of information and the ease of exchanging data has been a major occupation of the

ministry in the past few years. We now have in Egypt the largest research information facility in the Third World, which also ranks ninth worldwide. This makes research data readily available to Ministry of Agriculture employees and researchers, as well as to universities and other research facilities. The ministry is now connected by facsimile to all its directorates in order to competently disseminate information by making it available in written form for instant use.

The Peasant and the Open-Door Policy

[al-Sharif] Open-door policies had some negative impact on the Egyptian countryside—relocation to the cities for jobs in the industrial and service sectors, as well as rising rates of consumption at the expense of production. Do you see a solution to these negative manifestations that would restore to farmers their previous commitment to the countryside and to the occupation of farming and the economic return it generates?

[Wali] Rural migration to the cities is a problem for many countries of the world. Specialized field studies and most experts agree that the practical way to stem this negative phenomenon is to improve rural life, primarily through higher return on farming and produce. This would bolster farmer commitment to the countryside, to farm production, and to the village.

Egyptian agriculture has taken long strides towards liberalization, privatization, and the availability of credit to small and large farm projects, which is undoubtedly an important step towards reversing urban inflows.

It is also agreed, however, that agricultural development must be accompanied by initiatives to develop various services and to split the various productivity sectors between city and country in a balanced manner that would tend to check the spread of this phenomenon as a prelude to overcome its harmful impact on society and productivity.

Reporter Accuses U.S. of Damaging Education

91AA0624A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 6 Aug 91 p 4

[Report by 'Abd-al-Hayy Muhammad]

[Text] Based on the "Danilov" method for destroying Egyptian education, the Americans are implementing a dangerous plan to secularize education, cut it off from its historical and cultural roots, and mold the Egyptian mentality according to American outlooks.

The plan is proceeding along two tracks. The first is the establishment—on the pretext of developing educational curricula—of a dubious American center where all data and information on the education of Egyptians in governmental schools, universities, etc., are being examined.

The second is the intensification of efforts by the Catholic Aid Organization [perhaps Catholic Relief Services—FBIS] and the U.S. Agency for International Development [AID] under the cover of grants and loans

that are provided only after compliance with all conditions for the destruction of Egyptian education. In this report, AL-SHA'B publishes the details of this plan, which threatens the future of all of Egypt! The American Educational Curriculum and Resource Development Center is dangerous not only because it seeks to observe, collect information on, categorize, and analyze educational policies, and to organize education by examining information denied to Egyptian researchers, but also because it is overtly in charge of establishing the curricula and books used in pre-university education and will thus influence the cognitive development of generations to come.

The Beginning

Measures to establish the American Curriculum Development Center began in January 1988, primarily with the participation of AID and \$6 million.

Under the agreement to establish the American Curriculum Development Center signed between the U.S. and Dr. 'Izzat 'Abd-al-Mawjud, the director of the National Research Center, the center's goal is to establish educational curricula, participate in the development of Egyptian education, formulate principles and control measures for reviewing and purging the ministry's curricula, and provide support to the ministry's efforts to develop its educational curricula (page 3 of the agreement).

American Executorship

Under the agreement, the U.S. side is free to: carry out statistical research on the state education sector, private education, and industrial training centers, and to establish a consultative committee to develop the curriculum of each subject area. This, with the understanding that the Americans will exercise financial control (page 5 of the agreement)!

In the face of this U.S. hegemony imposed by the agreement, researchers at the Egyptian National Educational Research Center (established in 1972 under State Decree No. 881) reacted extremely disapprovingly to the establishment of the American center, especially inasmuch as the National Educational Research Center already includes a full division comprising three sections concerned with curriculum development, the treatment of shortcomings in curriculum, and teacher training!

There are 50 researchers at the Curriculum Development Center, including 45 non-permanent researchers and five permanent researchers. They are responsible for collecting and analyzing information and presenting it to dubious researchers coming from America!

The conspiracy to destroy curricula began with the division of labor based on a belief in specialization. It was decided to distribute the American team throughout all Egyptian education sectors. Four-person Egyptian teams, each one including an advisor from the Education Ministry's general administration, were formed to assist each American researcher and to overcome patriotic

obstacles interfering with the destruction plan! One source of ridicule is that the Arabic language curricula development team needed an Egyptian to translate the meaning of poetry, prose, and grammar rules so that the American foreigners could develop the Arabic language, the language of the noble Koran!

National Sensitivity Is Aroused

The teams began by conducting surveys of Egyptian education, which raised doubts among Egyptian researchers, because most of the questions focused on Egyptian culture and the religious societies.

A researcher at the center relates that she had a discussion with one of the American researchers who had joined the center two weeks earlier. She noted that the researcher was inquiring about sensitive matters and warned him against doing so. She was surprised to learn the following day that he had left Egypt despite having been scheduled to stay for the next six months!

Resorting to New Researchers

With the daily growth of patriotic sentiment at the National Research Center, Dr. Kawthar [Kawjal], the center's director, sensed the Egyptian researchers' rejection of the Americans. She began to use dollars to entice Egyptian researchers to continue working with the Americans. However, the center's patriotic researchers opposed the activities of the dubious Curriculum Development Center.

Dr. Kawthar was compelled to appoint a number of researchers with bachelor's degrees or licenses based on unfair tests to determine their lack of rebelliousness. She also began a campaign to destroy the curricula division at the National Research Center!

We now have three bodies for the development of primary education: the National Curricula Division at the national center, the American Curricula Development Center, and another division in the ministry's administration, which is also controlled by the Americans!

The Humanitarian Mission of Destruction

When we asked Dr. Kawthar about the American presence at the center, she answered, smiling: "The Curriculum Development Center is the first such center in the Middle East and a source of pride and honor for me. Also the Americans' mission is a generous, humanitarian mission. Leave them alone!"

When Dr. 'Adil 'Izz began his tenure as acting director of the National Research Center, Dr. Kawthar asked the members of the curricula division at the National Research Center to agree to be assigned to the American center in exchange for 60 percent of their salaries. However, most of the division's researchers refused for patriotic reasons.

American Attack

On 6 March 1991, Dr. 'Adil 'Izz visited the National Research Center to pressure researchers. When one of the researchers informed the minister that Law No. 49 of 1972 on the Regulation of the Universities does not permit the reassignment of researchers engaged in research, the minister responded: "What law? I break all of the laws." A sharp disagreement occurred between the minister and the researchers. At the meeting's end, the minister conceded to allowing the researchers the freedom to decide whether to accept the assignment. However, the researchers at the National Center's curricula division were subsequently surprised by Decree No. 88 of 1991 of the Education Ministry, which compelled 24 of them to work at the American center. In that way, the curricula division subordinate to the National Research Center was terminated in the Americans' interest! Although two years have passed since it was established, the dubious center has yet to point to any real achievements. During this time, the center has spent 3 million Egyptian pounds, including 750,000 pounds for a library, transportation costs, and the establishment of the center. No one knows where the rest has gone!

Education Destroyed Through Grants

The malicious American ring to destroy pre-university education curricula is not limited to the development center. It is also supported by dubious grants and aid to secularize Egyptian education!

The dubious American Catholic Aid Organization provided a grant of \$5,283,240. The organization and its director in Egypt, Andrew Joseph, promised to make exhaustive efforts to obtain other aid and grants from the U.S. Government if the organization achieves its goals in Egypt!

The organization has established the condition that its grant money be distributed to children of schools in the countryside and small villages of al-Jizah, al-Qalyubiyah, al-Sharqiyah, al-Gharbiyah, al-Daqahliyah, and al-Dumyat, where the wretched poverty and environment are suited to its malicious goals!

The latest grant was four times greater than the previous grant, which totalled \$1,200,000!

The strange thing is that the organization is continuing its dubious activity to destroy education based on Decree No. 1655 of the President of the Republic!

Article 2 of the grant agreement—which was signed by AID director Marshall Brown, former Education Minister Dr. Fathi Surur, and former American Ambassador Frank Wisner—stresses that the agreement aims to change the scope of Egyptian education and to provide for the purchase educational materials and equipment.

Article 4 stipulates the need [for Egyptian agencies] to provide all educational documents and information required by AID before drawing on the funds. Section 6 of Article 4 stipulates that the source of all goods and

services be the United States, and moreover, that AID shall select the locations of the schools to receive grant money to maximize the program's impact.

After the American researchers succeeded in laying siege to education and examining educational information, the American experts, according to our sources at the development center, began to formulate a "range and sequence matrix," which boils down to the assignment of a full team of researchers to examine a given subject area at the elementary, junior high, and high school levels to eliminate redundancies, especially regarding historical and religious material. These measures aim to weaken the students' connection with their history, given that more than 80 percent of the Koranic verses and Prophetic traditions in the curriculum were dropped on the pretext that they are filler material!

The Americans have also influenced pre-university education at al-Azhar. At the junior high level, Koran exegesis and Prophetic traditions have been merged with texts!

The Americans' destruction of pre-university education progressed to the elimination of a full year of basic education on the pretext that the nine-year formula is too costly for developing countries.

In a dictatorial manner, amid strong opposition, Dr. Surur held a session with his supporters at the al-Safir Hotel so that they could approve his decision to cut basic education by one year. Just a few days later, Law No. 332 was issued; it stipulates eight instead of nine years of basic education (Article 4).

A year later, Dr. Surur was surprised by a severe problem: a junior high graduating class twice the normal size. Dr. Surur ascertained that the problem would grow worse, especially when these students apply for admission to the universities at a time when policy is moving toward cutting back on university admissions!

Dr. Surur appealed for a solution to the American experts at the Curricula Development Center. They recommended limiting the success of the students and opening vocational schools for them!

In this way, Egyptian education is being destroyed!

Commentary Says Israel Preparing for War

91AA0555B Cairo MISR AL-FATAH in Arabic
8 Jul 91 p 5

[Commentary by 'Abd-al-Halim Qandil]

[Text] Our government's controlled newspapers talk about peace, while war is knocking on the door.

The headlines proclaim Egyptian-American contacts and the request for a new American initiative. But America does not respond, leaving everything to Yitzhaq Shamir.

Israel is preparing for war, and it raises its traditional no's in the face of any proposed solution. It continues to steal land and build settlements, while the Israeli Ministry of Housing has revealed a plan to settle 400,000 Jews on the West Bank at a cost of \$13 billion, to be paid by Washington.

The Bush administration is gradually desisting from its hypocritical criticism of Israeli settlement, while Baker gives assurances that Israel will have a positive answer and that he will await the Syrian response, as if Syria had become the obstacle and settlements were no longer a problem. But the only problem is Syria's desire that the United Nations participate in the proposed peace conference.

As we go into the American election year, America will fall completely silent about Israel, and Bush and Baker will retreat out of greed and out of fear of the influence of the Zionist lobby. The opportunity for a new Israeli war will present itself, whereby a double goal will be achieved: the destruction of Syria on the one hand, then the forced emigration to Jordan of Palestinians in the occupied land as a first step towards creating an alternate state.

I think it no coincidence that we are now hearing the voice of Rehav'am Ze'evi, who a few months ago was appointed minister without portfolio in the government of Yitzhak Shamir. He has violently criticized what he called Israel's relaxation in suppressing the intifadah, to which the office of the Israeli chief of staff responded by disclosing the existence of "death squads" which disguise themselves in Palestinian dress to kill leaders of the intifadah. It is known that Rehav'am Ze'evi is the alter ego of the slain terrorist Kahane, that he espouses the transfer theory (the willful expulsion of Palestinians by peace or war), and he demands that the Arab states absorb the Palestinians in return for Israel's favor of absorbing Arab Jews!

I do not think it farfetched that America would participate directly in Israel's next war. What is significant is that attention was given to Baker's failed shuttles, while the successful shuttles between Dick Cheney and Moshe Arens were carried on in the dark. The shuttles of the American secretary of defense and the Israeli minister of defense succeeded in expanding their strategic agreement, and more importantly, they succeeded in permitting Israel to use modern American weapons that had been stockpiled in the occupied territory.

Israel has reached the maximum degree of arms saturation, and this is a natural prelude to the proclamation of war, according to the strategic rule, "Whenever arms are stockpiled, the desire for war increases."

Even if America does not participate directly, as in the Gulf, it will not abandon its role in setting the stage. It is now concentrating on what it calls the "Paris Conference" for disarming the Middle East, and it is trying to force all the Arabs to toe the Paris line. It is demanding that the Arabs remove their missiles and chemical weapons, and is putting pressure on arms-exporting states to ban their sale

to the Arabs, and if the Arabs do not give in gracefully, there is no alternative but obliteration.

What is going on now in southern Lebanon is not isolated. Washington blesses the slaughter of Palestinians by Arabs as a first step towards the slaughter of Arabs by the Israelis.

In short, no solution is possible because Israel does not want it. War is more likely because that is what Israel wants. On that America is silent, but supports it behind the scenes.

Parliament Warns of Israeli Designs on Arab Water

*91AA0555C London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
22 Jul 91 p 2*

[Text] The Arab Affairs Committee of the Egyptian Parliament has warned of Israel's increasing ambitions for Arab water resources in general, and the waters of the Nile in particular, in light of Israel's increasing need for water due to the population increase to 4.5 million. That is expected to reach 5.2 million, with increased immigration of Soviet Jews and the Jews of East Europe and Ethiopia expected to number half a million Jews over the next three years. Thus, Israel will have to arrange for about 268 million additional cubic meters of water by 1995.

In a report on water problems in the region, the committee mentioned that Israel has joined the power struggle game in Africa, especially in the region of the Nile basin states, and it has extended its fingers into Ethiopia, where the main sources of the Nile are. Israel has offered aid to the rulers in Addis Ababa, and it is now implementing six dam projects on the headwaters of the Nile.

The committee warned that this would have a direct affect on Egypt's share of the water, and that Israel was trying to penetrate Egypt's southern defense, and shut off the headwaters of the Nile, Egypt's source of water.

The committee pointed to the problem confronting the Arab states, namely that they are suffering from a 44-percent shortfall in meeting their water needs. Eight non-Arab states control 85 percent of the sources of the Arab nation's water resources. They are Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, Zaire, Turkey, Senegal, and Guinea.

Committee chairman Sabri al-Qadi said that hearings to be attended by concerned ministers and specialists would be held to study this matter and present the issue for discussion in Parliament during its next session.

International Activities of Muslim Brotherhood Described

91AA0601A ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic
22 Jul 91 pp 8-11

[Article by Tariq Hasan: "Secrets of Muslim Brotherhood's International Organization"]

[Text] Toward the end of last September, right after a conference the fundamentalist movements held in Khartoum, [Sudanese fundamentalist leader Hasan] al-Turabi announced to the members of these movements the good news about the creation of what he called "a universal framework for the Islamic movement" to be used as a means to voice their opinions and represent their positions. This organization includes the Muslim Brotherhood [MB] of Egypt, whom al-Turabi accused of being wary of creating an entity that unites all the Islamic movements because it has nominated itself to lead the world.

For further clarification and emphasis, he said, in a single word, that the leaderships of these movements held extensive discussions about movement affairs in each country, shared their experiences, and took measures whose effects will be felt very soon.

Al-Turabi did not wait for the people to find out about these measures and effects for themselves, for he hastened to say, with undue confidence, that "the Islamic movement shall adopt all the movement measures it has taken toward domestic reform and shall go beyond it to international reform. These measures include advice and counsel through diplomatic contacts at home and abroad; popular mobilization and the generation of pressure and impetus to squeeze the oppressors at the domestic and international levels; and forms of political struggle, opposition, and confrontation, all the way to combat."

This is what al-Turabi said. This is how he disclosed and acknowledged the details of Tunisian and Algerian events several months before they happened and events expected to occur in other places and countries.

Right after the 30 June 1989 coup that seized power in Khartoum, al-Turabi and his group actively called for a world organization that he himself called a "Permanent World Conference of the Islamic Movement." This organization held several meetings in Khartoum; Amman, Jordan; and Lahore, Pakistan. But what are the characteristics of this organization?

In his recently-published book about the Islamic movement in Sudan, al-Turabi responded by saying: "I believe that the project is the embodiment and the evolution of the coordination concept because it is built on a universally firm and systematic world order that transcends regional, Arab, and other domains."

But the world organization that emerged from Khartoum recently is one link in the chain of developments that

began in the sixties with the aim of creating an international or world organization for the Muslim Brotherhood.

Beginning of the Story

Here is the story from the beginning.

In the sixties, Egyptian MB member Sa'id Ramadan formed the first cell in the MB international organization in Geneva, Switzerland. This cell included members from Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Jordan, and Sudan, and was represented by 'Uthman Khalid Madubi, a current al-Turabi group senior leader who began his journey to riches in Geneva after he had been a very low-salaried judge in Khartoum.

The MB at that time in Sudan was a branch under the leadership of the MB's supreme guide in Egypt, known in Sudan as the head of the movement. When al-Turabi went to lead the group in Sudan, he did not like the idea of being under a man whom he used to call the "Vatican Pope!"

Here is where his disagreement with the leaders of the international movement started. To rectify the situation, a joint world MB executive office was set up with Sudanese participation only at the coordination level, backed by the MB of Iraq.

Disagreement Intensifies!

As the seventies rolled around, the disagreement between al-Turabi and the MB intensified when [MB supreme guide] al-Hudaybi rejected a plan to frame their relationship designed, after the 1972 pilgrimage, in accordance with al-Turabi's vision.

Because of this schism, a Sudanese group, led by al-Sadiq 'Abdallah 'Abd-al-Majid, broke away from al-Turabi's organization, calling itself "the Muslim Brotherhood." This group was recognized by the international organization that, until the eighties, was determined to isolate al-Turabi and his front from all other internationally unified and coordinated organizations.

It so happened that, at the beginning of 1982, the president of the world organization was replaced by Egyptian engineer Yusuf Nada, who was living in Switzerland.

The international organization's opposition remained a stumbling block in al-Turabi's way. But, being experienced in the art of penetration and containment, which crystallized in his consciousness ever since he married the sister of al-Sadiq al-Mahdi—the former Sudanese prime minister—and joined the inner circles of al-Mahdiah and al-Ansar (two of the major factions in Sudan), he, the son of a middle-class judge and a descendant of a small Sufi group, was able to deal with it.

Extensive Contacts

For the time being, al-Turabi dismissed the wrath of the Egyptian Brotherhood and its world organization, feverishly embarking on his own action and building relationships with governments, organizations, and tendencies. In the wake of the April 1985 uprising, his movement grew and developed, assuming the role of a shadow government in terms of relationships, contacts, and foreign action.

Through the establishment of bilateral relations with local MB groups in each country, separate from the power of the international organization, he infiltrated the various MB organizations.

He allied himself with the Yemen Brotherhood, with the 'Abbas Madani Front in Algeria, and with al-Ghannouchi in Tunis. The latter emerged—lock, stock, and barrel—from under the Sudanese cloak and followed the example of al-Turabi and his group. He used to dispatch to him teams for training in organizational and movement action, and he was often invited to lecture by the al-Turabi group students at the University of Khartoum. He and al-Turabi published a book together!

A Network of Relations

Al-Turabi's relations spread to the groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan. These bilateral relations were established through the following three channels:

- Students who were active in establishing student associations, federations, and movements in Britain, America, throughout Europe, and in some Asian and African countries.
- Sudanese expatriates in the Gulf who, one after the other, began infiltrating banks and oil financial organizations.
- Other specialized organizations, such as relief agencies and the Islamic Call Organization (which now has a branch in Egypt).

Al-Turabi said about these organizations: "In view of the significance of their specialized functions, some of these organizations had more freedom for foreign expansion. Countries do not care, and people are not wary of student, feminist, missionary, or charitable organizations that spread behind their borders or that have an international dimension, contacting their counterparts, offering their services, or soliciting world support. Such contacts, no matter how limited their immediate goals, are grounds for paving the way for more meaningful and useful relations."

Channels Inside Egypt

Inside Egypt, in the backyard of the international movement leaders, al-Turabi and his group opened channels of communication with some fundamentalist symbols and figures, culminating their efforts in establishing an organizational and organic relationship with the [Socialist] Labor Party [SLP], led by Ibrahim Shukri,

after the fundamentalists had taken control of it following its alliance with the MB.

The SLP began thinking of itself as al-Turabi's equal in Egypt. Indeed, the MB began speaking to its leaders as it would speak to al-Turabi himself, and its hidden arguments with the SLP seemed to be part of its long-standing differences with al-Turabi and his group in Sudan!

Ironically, the SLP became to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt what the Sadiq 'Abd-al-Majid Group was to al-Turabi in Sudan!

This is how al-Turabi had the Egyptian MB drinking from the same cup that they had tried to shove down his throat. He became equal to them, and each side turned into the nemesis of the other.

Brotherhood in Egypt Besieged

But the SLP was more useful to al-Turabi in Egypt than the Sadiq 'Abd-al-Majid Group was to the MB in Sudan.

Al-Turabi used the SLP to besiege the Brotherhood in Egypt, internally and externally, noting that the MB in Egypt initially refused to support the al-Bashir coup, and even published some articles accusing it of being an American coup! However, through efforts of the SLP and al-Turabi's men in Egypt, the MB modified its position in support of the coup under the pretext of unifying the fundamentalist groups' efforts to face their opponents, and a major conciliation was forged between the MB and al-Turabi during the World Islamic Popular Conference held in Libya shortly after the al-Bashir coup.

Al-Turabi's efforts to besiege the MB spread to the world arena. Whereas the Egyptian MB made Geneva and West Europe its international base, al-Turabi and his group made Washington a base for establishing world, intercontinental, and regional organizations, hence the birth of the Islamic Thought Institute that the Egyptian Jihad guide, 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman, used to get into the United States from Sudan, and the World Islamic Student Federation that, for the past few years, has been trying to set up a chapter in Cairo!

Al-Turabi topped these efforts by gaining control over the regime in Khartoum, thereby controlling and getting closer to leading the world organization. He began living his long-held dream, for here he was the general in Khartoum that he had mobilized to take control of the international organization, and the world leader impatiently waiting for countries and regions to open up. The international organization, which had grown flaccid under the Egyptian MB and had been turned into a mere coffer at al-Taqwa Bank in the Bahamas, as Isma'il al-Shatti, the Kuwaiti MB member who recently broke away from them put it, was indebted to him.

Direct Action

With al-Turabi, the international organization moved to the direct-action stage.

In August 1989, a decision was made to focus on Sudan and offer it financial aid with a view to using it as a springboard to Arab and African countries. A leadership chapter, comprised of 19 members brought in from various countries of the world, was set up in Khartoum to run fundamentalist military training camps.

Three training centers were established: the first on the Red Sea; the second in the city of Kaduqli; and the third in al-Jarif, a Khartoum suburb.

Elements trained in assassination and arms smuggling were then dispatched to a number of countries, including Egypt, via Darb al-Arba'un road to Asyut and al-Wadi al-Jadid. In fact, the Egyptian border authorities caught several arms-smuggling operations using "landcruiser" vehicles to smuggle arms from Sudan into Egypt!

Likewise, during the Gulf war, Ethiopian security agencies apprehended two groups of Iraqi, Sudanese, and Palestinian nationals carrying Sudanese passports, whose assignment was to assassinate Sudanese opposition members living in Addis Ababa.

When these camps were uncovered, they were moved to the Red Sea hills in eastern Sudan inside farms owned by wealthy al-Turabi group members.

At the Halfayat al-Muluk suburb north of Khartoum, there is a huge farm that was once owned by Zaki Sirr al-Khatim, former Sudanese undersecretary of commerce, who last year sold it to al-Tayyib al-Nuss, a wealthy al-Turabi group member, for about 10 million Sudanese pounds.

This farm had been reserved for training fundamentalist groups. Once, a Sudanese police squad patrolling the area noticed unusual activity on the farm, so it went in and found Egyptian, Sudanese, Eritrean, Palestinian, and Yemeni nationals, besides one Saudi subject, who had arms, Sudanese passports, and free [hard] currency. The police arrested them, but they were released later by the so-called Revolutionary Security Agency in Sudan, upon which a crisis erupted between the Sudanese Ministry of the Interior and the aforementioned agency, which led to the resignation of Interior Minister Faysal 'Ali Abu-Salih from the ministry and from the ruling military tribunal.

News reports about the new camp, however, found their way to the embassy of a major Arab country that protested the training of its nationals, and asked Nafi' 'Ali Nafi', chief of the secret police in Khartoum, to turn them over. However, he refused and the matter evolved into a physical confrontation with the Arab diplomat who delivered the request, thus creating a diplomatic crisis!

Conferences in Khartoum continued to be held, one after the other, the latest of which was the Islamic Arab Popular Conference that elected al-Turabi as its permanent secretary and was tantamount to an operations

room for events in Tunisia, Algeria, and Ethiopia, where Sudanese tanks went into the capital when Mengistu fled the country.

On the sidelines of this conference, an important meeting was held at al-Turabi's residence in the Khartoum suburb of Manshiyah, attended by 'Abbas Madani, al-Ghannouchi, General al-Bashir, and Mahdi Ibrahim, the foreign relations officer of the al-Turabi group.

Endless Dreams

There is more to follow about these conferences, but the consequences of the adventures plotted by al-Turabi's endless dreams and ambitions apparently are coming down on his head, which never tires of scheming and planning.

Now that the ramifications of the defeat they suffered in the Gulf have been confirmed, struggles within the international organization have been growing and intensifying.

This struggle is between two groups. One lives in Europe and controls all the organization's coffers and economic projects, and the other is here in Egypt, at the headquarters of the supreme guide.

Before the Greater Bairam holiday, members of the group in Europe came to Egypt and gathered at the home of a leader who owns a major publishing house. They said that the Gulf war was not for the sake of Islam, but rather for private interests, and they asked for the ouster of the guide, Hamid Abu-al-Nasir, and the appointment of Shaykh al-Ghazali in his place because he adopted the most balanced position on the Gulf crisis.

But these struggles notwithstanding, the international organization continues to be as dangerous as it has ever been! [Boxed item: Latest News]

Last week, ROSE AL-YUSUF learned from Arab diplomatic sources in Cairo that the Algerian security authorities recently apprehended a group of Algerian fundamentalists belonging to the 'Abbas Madani Front carrying Sudanese passports. It appeared that this group had left for Sudan and returned with these passports, passing through three major Arab airports before entering Algeria.

As a result, Houari Boumedienne Airport authorities in Algeria last week denied a Sudanese Islamic delegation entry to Algeria, sending them back the same day on the Sudanese plane.

French security authorities had informed the French Government that Rachid al-Ghannouchi, leader of the Ennahdah Movement in Tunis, who lives in Paris, had a Sudanese diplomatic passport.

At that time, the Tunisian Foreign Ministry summoned the Sudanese ambassador to Paris to reprimand him and deliver its strongly-worded protest, demanding a specific

explanation. It received a prompt response from Khartoum when Sudanese diplomats learned of this incident and were told by the Sudanese undersecretary for foreign affairs, 'Abd-al-Rahman Sa'id, that the "Muslim has no country!"

Tunisian authorities reconfirmed the authenticity of the response when they found a Sudanese passport on the leader of the recently-failed coup attempt! [Boxed item: Did al-Turabi Flee Khartoum?

Observers have noted that al-Turabi recently left Khartoum for Peshawar, Pakistan, allegedly to mediate between the Afghan factions and the Soviet Union!

This is strange, because how can a leader who calls himself "Islamic" mediate between fundamentalist factions and a state they describe as infidel and atheist?

So, did the al-Bashir government ask al-Turabi to get out? Will this have any significance on developments currently taking place in Sudan or is it a new gambit?]

[Box]

World Bank for International Organization

Following the establishment of the al-Ta'qwa Bank, AL-MUNQITH newspaper, which is the organ of the 'Abbas Madani front in Algeria, called for establishing a world bank for fundamentalists similar to the International Bank for Reconstructions and Development. It said that there is a base for such a bank, given the profits realized by the following firms:

- The Islamic Holding Company: 1988 profits, \$14.6 million.
- The Jordanian Islamic Bank: 1988 profits, 1,158,903 Jordanian dinars.
- The Dubai Islamic Bank: 1987 profits, 65.6 million dirhams.
- The Faysal Islamic Bank: 1987 profits, \$10 million

Article Examines Platforms of New Parties

91AA0578B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
2 Aug 91 p 4

[Article; "Two New Egyptian Opposition Parties Awaiting Licenses To Practice"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] About one and a half years ago, the courts unveiled the birth of three political parties—Young Egypt [Masr al-Fatah], the Green Party, and the Democratic Unionist Party [DUP]—but the truth is that these parties did not add anything new to partisan practice save for one more opposition newspaper, namely MASR AL-FATAH, which is the organ of the party that carries the same name. So far, these parties have been content to limit their partisan action to the platforms they submitted to the courts to obtain a license to practice. A quick comparison between these platforms and the ones submitted by the two parties brings to light the issue of political and constitutional reform. The

Green, Nasirist, DUP, and Young Egypt parties believe it is necessary to amend the constitution and revise certain laws, ones pertaining to general freedom and human rights in particular. The Awakening [al-Sahwah] Party stands alone in its call for a new constitution to regulate state powers. It sets forth programs that affirm its religious basis, which is banned by the parties' law, something the parties committee invoked in rejecting its previous application for establishment.

In regard to the multi-party system, the Green Party is the only one among the five parties whose platform did not contain any conditions for the establishment of parties, while the platforms of the Nasirist Party and the Young Egypt Party were void of any specific position on the multi-party process, even though their application to establish their parties is an acknowledgement of such a system. The Awakening Party supported this process while the DUP approved it within the framework that will be outlined by its constituent assembly.

Regarding these parties' positions on the three state powers—legislative, executive, and judicial—it is noted that all the platforms that dealt with the judicial power, especially the Green Party, affirmed the necessity of its independence and reform. As for the legislative power, the Nasirist Party acknowledged the status quo in general, and the Young Egypt Party feels that the Consultative [shura] Council's role ought to be limited to oversight without legislation, and the enactment of laws ratified by the People's Assembly. It also shares the Nasirist Party's view that a People's Assembly vote of no-confidence in the government ought to be grounds for its resignation without a referendum. The Green Party believes that both the People's Assembly and the Consultative Council should share the function of legislation and oversight, while the Awakening Party advocates the existence of two houses: a house of commons to enact laws, provided they are drawn from Islamic law [shari'ah], and a house of notables to oversee and review laws passed by the former before they are enforced. With regard to the executive power, the Green Party and the Young Egypt Party both support the extension of the head of state's term, but only the latter endorses the prospect of a vote of confidence in him, while the Awakening Party rejects the idea of term designation because "this would lull the imam into a sense of security."

Based on these five parties' platforms, Arab nationalism seems to be a pivotal concept in all of them, be it for or against. While the Awakening Party focuses on the rejection of Arab nationalism and divides the world into a land of Islam and a land of unbelief, the DUP emphasizes affiliation with the Islamic, African, and hence, Arab circle. The Nasirist and Young Egypt parties focus on the Arab nationalism issue, followed by the Green Party. Of course, this attitude reflects the parties' Arab orientation. The Awakening Party focuses on the idea that the Arab region is part of the Islamic world. The DUP, which raises the slogan, "One Nile, One People," reaffirms total unity with Sudan. Young Egypt wants

integration with Sudan, clearing the Arab air, a reexamination of the Arab League's status quo, endorsement of Arab regional groupings, and support for trade exchanges with Sudan. As for the Nasirist Party, it affirms Arab unity.

Regardless of the realistic vision of party practice, the matter of the official party theater receiving new players on its stage remains imperative if the multi-party process, which is one of the key pillars of democratic practice in Egypt, is to be pushed forward.

Writer Criticizes Opposition's Position Paper

91AA0604A Cairo UKTUBAR in Arabic
14 Jul 91 pp 18,19

[Article by Dr. 'Abd-al-'Azim Ramadan: "Viewpoint of Democracy"]

[Excerpts] Amid the furor that the buzzword of democracy has set off throughout the entire world, from Asia in the east to Latin America in the west, through the Soviet Union, Eastern European countries, and African nations, the opposition parties in Egypt have—at this very time—chosen to push Egypt into this seismic zone. They have chosen to thrust Egypt into the arena of trials and upheavals, instead of coming together to restudy this buzzword of democracy, in light of the new international changes, to re-evaluate its negative and positive aspects, and offer us a formula to keep Egypt from the perils to which a country is subjected when it blindly applies this buzzword without regard for its own economic and social circumstances.

This is a truly tragic affair! Yes, it is tragic that certain political parties can pursue political action without studying political and economic thought, without knowing that political systems are not created out of a vacuum. Rather, they are marked by production relationships, from whose influence and effects they can never be free. The opposition must also not know that democracy is not one system, but rather, it is several different systems. It is self-contradictory, i.e., it carries both democracy and dictatorship simultaneously! Athenian democracy, which is considered the most advanced form of democracy, and the supreme ideal for people to emulate, was only democracy for masters alone. The Athenian society was not just a society of masters alone, but rather, it was a society of masters and slaves. No feudal society was more divided than Athenian society, and both feudal lords and serfs existed within it. They could not have been more separate. Democracy was the good fortune of the capitalist class; dictatorship was the lot of the working and peasant class. [passage omitted]

There is a clear need to distinguish between democracy and democracy. Western democracy, which was born with the nationalist expansion that accompanied the collapse of feudalism and the emergence of the capitalist class, and which was aimed at unifying the market in its country, has unified the European Common Market and will achieve a united Europe in 1992. This is not the

democracy that has ripped apart the Socialist world and set off separatist conflicts in communities that had been united in strong entities! The first democracy is in accord with the relationships of capitalist production; the latter democracy is not in tune with the relationships of socialist production. On the contrary, they are mutually contradictory.

Accordingly, when the opposition parties in Egypt met to issue a statement demanding liberal democracy in an absolute form, without being concerned as to whether this democracy is in tune with its economic basis, as represented in production relationships, they should not have been using the issue of democracy at all. The purpose of democracy is for the opposition parties to meet to study the democracy that could be in accord with production relationships in Egypt, and then demand it.

In this regard, I have noted that the statement was devoid of any reference to the economic system in Egypt or to the need to change to the capitalist system; establishing the capitalist system is a prerequisite for establishing liberal democracy.

At the same time that the statement included an equitable plea for the Egyptian's human rights, honor, and personal rights, it criticized concentrating power in the Office of the Presidency, and weakening constitutional institutions and popular participation. The opposition forgets that the state controls the principal means of production, represented by the public sector. This is what distinguishes a system like ours. It cannot distinguish any other system that is in the control of a class or classes, because the question that arises is, which class? The capitalist class or the proletariat? If we say the capitalist class, it cannot control the public sector and the structures of production. If we say the proletariat, then this nullifies liberal democracy.

I don't know. Were the opposition parties serious in their demand for absolute freedom to hold public meetings and organize peaceful parades, considering attacks against them to be a crime that will not endure for long? Was organizing the meetings and demonstrations that established Sulayman Khatir as a national and popular hero a point of departure for fully evaluating the responsibility on the part of the [Socialist] Labor Party? Was organizing demonstrations at the University of Cairo during the Gulf war on behalf of Saddam Husayn the way to be in tune with evaluating responsibility? Do the leaders of the opposition parties know the true meaning of the phrase 'freedom to establish political parties and pursue their activities'? Would these parties take responsibility for establishing an Islamic Salvation Front—as happened in Algeria—which would address the sentiments of the Egyptian Islamic man-in-the-street. Would these parties take responsibility for *al-Takfir* [renunciation] groups under the leadership of Dr. 'Umar 'Abd-al-Rahman and the murderers of [Speaker of Parliament Rif'at] al-Mahjub, forming a political party whose goal is to take our people hundreds of years into the past?

Would the signatory leaders of the opposition parties be the first to get rid of them and liquidate them at the first opportunity?

I don't understand the request that the term of president of the republic be restricted so that it could only be renewed once, and that he be directly elected in a general election from among more than one candidate. Isn't this demand preoccupied with theory at the expense of actual reality and application?

The theory of the republican system, whereby the term of president is set so that it may not be for more than two terms, is an old political theory that characterizes capitalist regimes in the West, where the means of production are in the hands of the powerful capitalist class, and where the government is no more than the board of directors of this powerful capitalist class. This class sets the period of time for which it wishes to retain the president of the republic!

However in the Third World, where the means of production are mainly in state hands, and where the burden of progress and development is also borne by the state, there is no powerful capitalist class, but only a parasitical capitalism that does not bear the burden of development. This is the case in Egypt and elsewhere. Restricting the term of presidency at two terms would only result in political and economic instability. The state is the basis in this system—and not a class—and state stability is linked to the stability of the presidency.

I have written these words before, but no one paid attention, because the ulema of political thought in Egypt are preoccupied with remembering old books. The great majority of political party leaders do not read, but only talk, or make their living from Gulf states!

It is amazing that none of the opposition parties that signed the statement demanding restricting the term of the presidency, has any historic place—with the exception of the Wafd Party—in the masses' hearts, which in itself evokes hope for the legacy of the National [Democratic] Party. They only hope to succeed President Mubarak in office! Will the [Socialist] Labor Party, with its bad policies and schisms throughout its history, and with its support for Saddam Husayn in the Gulf war against the Egyptian people's will? Will the National Progressive Unionist Grouping [NPUG], which has never claimed to have the majority? Will the Liberal Party which, were it not for its successful newspaper, would not be noticed by anyone? What about the Ummah Party, to which no one listens, and whose newspaper no one reads? How about the pipelines parties, which lack the components of true political parties, but whose establishment our government accepted in order to accommodate Dr. Democracy? What about the Young Egypt Party, the Green Party, the Democratic Unionist Party and, finally, the Arab Socialist Egypt Party?

By God, oh masters, why don't you recognize the painful truth with me? We are losing the elements of true party

life and, consequently, we are losing the elements of sound democratic life. More than that, we are losing the basis of the liberal democratic system as it exists in the capitalist West, which you are demanding. That basis is the economic basis. Why don't you recognize with me that your parties—except for the Wafd Party—are parties with no history, with no roots in the Egyptian people? They are also parties with no future; you don't have people to succeed you if you vanish from the scene. More than that, your parties have not discovered democracy, nor do they practice it. One did not hear the leaders of the NPUG defending democracy before that party emerged, except for Khalid Muhi-al-Din, as a historical fact. Ibrahim Shukri has sacked everyone in the party who differed with him, and they represent the majority! Since the establishment of your parties, we have not heard of anyone of you giving up the leadership of the party, as true democratic parties do, and as Mrs. Thatcher recently did. On the contrary, you are permanent, unchangeable leaders. Nevertheless, you demand changing the president of the republic every two terms! If you were to apply that principle to your parties, they would topple at once!

I say that, and I am a true partisan, because my portrait of our partisan life is fact and not fiction. The July Revolution, which muzzled us for 30 years, is responsible for this sterility, after it abolished freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, and freedom of the press. It put the nationalists and progressives in jail. That crime is not your crime. You are merely a pale imitation of the July Revolution. Excuse me, but I have lived my political life defending democracy, but not the current pseudo-democracy that has ripped apart national entities, set off separatist conflicts in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, and touched off strikes, demonstrations, and sit-ins in Algeria. Egypt cannot bear the burdens of this democracy that would destroy the country's unity and economy!

Fear of Constitutional Amendment Questioned

91AA0581A Cairo AL-SHA'B in Arabic 30 Jul 91 p 2

[Editorial by Midhat Abu al-Fadl: "Why Fear Amending the Constitution?"]

[Text] Immediately after the opposition published its statement calling for holding elections for a constituent assembly in which, for the first time, a constitution would be drafted to reflect the true directions of the Egyptian people, instead of the present constitution, imposed on the people from above, being put to a referendum (with a yes or no), some writers who speak for the regime began noisily attacking this statement on the following pretexts:

1. The opposition would thereby drag Egypt into areas of experimentation and upheavals, from which many regions of the world suffer;

2. Political systems are not created from a vacuum, but rather, they are marked by relationships of production, from which they cannot escape; and,

3. Opposition parties are weak, inasmuch as they could not fill the void that is now filled by the institution of the presidency, which has emergency measures to counter forces of violence and extremism.

This is the most important pretext used by the authorities' propagandists in their resistance to the opposition's demand to elect a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution for Egypt that will express the true directions of its people and will include their views when it is prepared. This is an unscientific pretext which certain "doctors" try to clothe in the garb of science. It is also illogical, while some of them try to dress it in a gown of logic.

We Are Not Inviting Anarchy

It is not true that the opposition's demand for the election of a constituent assembly to draft a new constitution for the country would, of itself, involve Egypt in an earthquake zone or push it into experimentation and upheaval. On the contrary, the reverse is true. There is no firm direction for Egyptian domestic policy in various fields, such as the economy, education, and the like, so Egypt has become an area of experimentation for its regime. In regard to the economy, for example, a shift has been made from a system of state ownership of the means of production, toward the direction of eliminating most public ownership of the public sector and encouraging national and foreign private investments. Despite that, the constitution has remained unchanged, carrying most of the characteristics of a totalitarian regime. This, in itself, does not encourage investment or attract Egyptian capital deposited abroad, which alone can guarantee the desired growth!

A mixture of experimentation, while closing legal channels in the face of various political trends, is what leads to the evolution of violence and to its getting out of control as a result of the people's aversion to participating and filling the political vacuum, and the young people's renunciation of enthusiasm for their religion and their nation regarding change by peaceful means.

The river does not flood its banks unless the dams break before it. All the disturbances from which Eastern European nations—and many Third World nations—suffer were the result of comprehensive, totalitarian government, and not because of constitutional amendment and the peaceful transition of authority. Change—and this is part of life—can come in the form of an explosion. This is what the opposition wants Egypt to avoid.

Therefore the opposition, as it calls for the consolidation of democracy and the drafting of a new constitution that reflects the true directions of this people and permits the peaceful change of authority, is calling for stability, not the reverse.

Present Constitution Is Not an Expression of Production Relationships in Egypt

One of the pretexts cited by one writer in response to the opposition's statement was that those who demand a new constitution for Egypt forget "the fact" that the political system is defined by the nature of production relationships prevailing in the state. This is a Marxist theory which, as is the case with Marxist ideas, contains some truth, but then expresses it as the absolute truth. Even if it does not conform to theoretical reality, the error was an error of fact, not an error of theory!

The idea that the reader obtains from this pretext is that the relationship between the production forces and the political system occurs freely, while it is more like the movement of a pendulum in space, which has no competitor to compete with. It is an incorrect concept. Production relationships are merely one of the elements that form the state's political system. Other elements participate with it, such as the people's natural right to freedom, without colliding with the established leadership, which opposes the custom of change and development and their right to participate in decision making, so that they can bear their responsibilities for assent and choice, whatever those responsibilities may be.

Therefore, this theory, with regard to the link between production relationships and the political system, is an argument that is incapable of explaining why revolutions occur. Why have 23 constitutions fallen in Egypt, despite the fact that no change has occurred in production relations, and despite the fact that they occurred years before nationalization decrees were issued? Why did the people of Eastern Europe rise up against their regimes, despite the fact that no change occurred in production relations? Why did the totalitarian regimes in Morocco and Tunisia develop into democracies, despite the fact that production relationships in these two countries are candidates for that, as the author of this view says?

Nevertheless, I ask the author of this view: Is the present Egyptian constitution, the constitution of an all-embracing government as a result of concentrating all authority in the post of president, in harmony with the economic trend that the government wants to achieve, a trend that leans toward liquidating the public sector, restricting it to only successful companies, and increasing the size of the private sector through encouraging national and foreign investment in Egypt? Is it possible to achieve this goal in light of the legal and political conditions that currently prevail?

Opposition Demands Constitution Be Amended

It is said that the opposition parties are weak, inasmuch as they cannot fill the vacuum created by reducing the role of the presidency in Egypt, in terms of countering the forces of violence and extremism. These words are strange, or rather, peculiar, with regard to the mentality of nations.

As regards weakness of the parties in Egypt, it is true that this includes the opposition parties, as well as the majority party, which only expands its presence by authority. One day, it will lose the present governing authority, and then this party will have no support, as happened to the Egypt Party, which represented "the majority" until power was stripped from it. It became merely a name, the smallest and least significant of the opposition. The reason for that is that the people in Egypt no longer take political action seriously, after it was confirmed that their will was merely "decor" and that their role was limited to merely applauding a decision, and not participating in it. Therefore, they turned their back on political action, and a loathsome negativism has prevailed among them, which some describe as non-affiliation. This is the situation that caused the president to launch the slogan "grand awakening," in order to deal with it.

Undoubtedly, the effects of this deteriorating situation, which has not just had repercussions on party life alone, but also on all forms of life in Egypt, is, of itself, enough to require a reformulation of the political system in Egypt in order to give our society greater vitality. In other words, those who oppose amending the constitution on the pretext of weak political parties in Egypt, can reverse the situation. They can bring about what is required—as they themselves say.

Concerning the talk about the capability to counter terrorism, these are strange words. They lower the state to the tribal level. Countering terrorism is a job for state institutions, not a job for the office of the presidency alone. There is terrorism in England; no one talks about the need to concentrate authority in the hands of the queen or prime minister. It is [the same] in Italy; no one says all state powers should be concentrated in the president's hands. This logic bestows upon the state the weakness of a killer at the expense of the institution of the presidency, i.e., a strong president in a weak state. Does that satisfy the author of this opinion?

Accordingly, let us face matters frankly. You are afraid the Islamists will come to power. The Islamists coming to power is inconceivable except by one of two ways: either through the ballot box, at which time no one would have the right to stop them in the face of the people's will. There is no guardianship over the people, as they say. Or, the Islamists will try to attain power by violence, and that is impossible, as you know. The institution of the state has become the power, inasmuch as one cannot conceive of changing it by force, except by one of two ways: either the spread of a condition of public discontent forces the people to take to the streets and challenge death, at which time this could lead to many victims to stop the armed forces from continuing to wade in the blood of citizens, as happened in Iran, the Philippines, and Romania; or by military coup. Except for that, it is no longer possible to overturn any system of government.

Therefore, when the opposition calls for creating a constitutional system that can achieve greater vitality for the people and open the door for the people's real participation in decisions, that puts an end to one of the most important reasons for public discontent, which the extremists exploit. A new constitutional system propels the people toward true participation in countering extremism instead of standing by as observers, or rather, as gloaters on many occasions.

Government Builds New Cities in South

91AA0555D London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
22 Jul 91 p 11

[Article by Ahmad Gharib]

[Text] Cairo—Engineer Hasaballah al-Kafrawi, minister of construction, housing, and new communities, authorized the general plan to build two new cities in southern Egypt, clearing the way for Prime Minister Dr. 'Atif Sidqi to issue the decree to build them.

The two new cities are al-Kawlah and al-Kawamil. Each will cover an area of 750 feddans, and each will absorb 60,000 persons and provide up to 5,400 new job opportunities in the factories that will be built in them. Al-Kawlah is the new city of Akhmim, while al-Kawamil will be an extension of the city of Sawhaj.

It was also decided that work would begin on building the new city of al-Safa in Asyut, since it was included in this year's plan. This city will be erected on an area of 1,550 feddans and will absorb 130,000 persons and provide job opportunities for 26,000 citizens.

Engineer Ahmad al-Rubi, head of the construction office in the city of al-Safa, said that the operation to build the city's infrastructure of water, sewers, and roads is being bonded at a cost of 5 million Egyptain pounds. Likewise, 3,000 apartments are being built in the city in the first phase at a cost of up to 30 million pounds.

The ministry also finished studies on building three other new cities in southern Egypt. They are New Luxor; [Tayyibah], which will be erected on an area of 700 feddans, absorb 40,000 persons, and provide 4,000 job opportunities; New Aswan, which is the prosperous extension of the present Aswan which will be erected on an area of 800 feddans, absorb 85,000 persons, and provide 12,000 job opportunities; and New al-Fayyum, an extension of the city of al-Fayyum on an area of 850 feddans. It will absorb 85,000 persons and provide 15,000 new job opportunities.

Work began on building two new cities two years ago: New Bani Suwayf, an extension of the present city of Bani Suwayf east of the Nile, which will be erected on 5,000 feddans in its first phase, absorb 160,000 persons, and provide 28,000 job opportunities; and New Minya, on 4,000 feddans. It will absorb 140,000 persons and provide 25,000 job opportunities.

Several years ago the ministry began to build 10 new cities for the first time since the time of Muhammad 'Ali and his descendants. These cities are the Tenth of Ramadan, October Sixth, al-Sadat, Badr, 'Ubur, New al-Dumyat [Damietta], New Salihyah, al-Nubariyah, and New Burj al-'Arab, bringing the total number of new cities in Egypt to 18 over a period of 10 years. In addition, work was started on 10 new communities around the circular road of Greater Cairo. These communities will absorb 2 million persons; 100,000 housing units will be built in them, with 10,000 apartments in each city. Moreover, lots furnished with utilities will be made available to citizens in these 10 communities on which they themselves would build, using their own savings to help in solving the housing crisis. Also, certain annoying industries that disturb the peace and cause environmental pollution will be transferred from the center of the capital to these communities.

Housing Banks Attempt To Ease Apartment Purchase

91AA0590A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
12 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by Ahmad Gharib]

[Text] Housing banks in Egypt have begun to create new savings plans in the form of home savings accounts, and the new system has won wide acceptance from the start, with more than 50,000 accounts with balances now exceeding 52 million Egyptian pounds. Despite the large number of accounts, no more than 15 percent of account holders are able to get an apartment using this system. The proportion of beneficiaries is no more than 3,000 apartments, with the rest languishing on a long waiting list.

Accountant Mahmud Nabih al-Manshawhi, president of the Reconstruction and Housing Bank, says that the bank organized the system to facilitate home purchases for limited income people and to be a form of savings. An account opened with 10 pounds by any citizen can make him a home buyer when the balance reaches 10 percent of the property's price and two years have passed. The account holder will also get a return on his investment in line with the Central Bank of Egypt's posted interest rates for savings accounts.

He said that 35,000 citizens had opened home savings accounts at the Reconstruction and Housing Bank, and that the balance of the accounts had amounted to 32 million pounds. These funds were being used to build homes for account holders, apart from granting every apartment between 8,000-10,000 pounds as an easy-interest cooperative 28-year loan.

He added that the bank was building more than 50,000 apartments in Cairo and the provinces, that 10 percent of these would be set aside for account holders, and that, as of 31 January 1990, about 7,000 account holders had fulfilled the conditions of the balance in two years. Two thousand apartments were being turned over to those

who had met the conditions, and 2,500 apartments had been turned over to account holders in the Cairo governorate, the new cities, and the provinces.

The president of the Egyptian Reconstruction Bank said that before the end of this year the bank would compute the accounts that had qualified and whose aims had been accomplished, along with computing other completed accounts and achieving their goal of getting apartments.

The other bank to use this system is the Egyptian Housing Bank, which has more than 15,000 accounts with balances exceeding 20 million pounds. An account may be opened with 100 pounds, and when the balance reaches 5,000 pounds and the period of 18 months from the funding of the balance has passed, the account holder enters the rank of those for whom a home is reserved. About 500 homes have been turned over to account holders. The bank offers loans to help account holders maintain three such accounts with maximum balances of 30,000 pounds.

A home savings account holder may save for an apartment or get an apartment himself from the public or private sector, and the bank will pay the price for him with loans granted to apartment seekers.

Some home savings account holders have said, "We resorted to this system of home savings accounts for our children who are looking for apartments. The ordinary system did not help them, and the account can act as a means of saving, especially since it adds an annual investment return to the balance. If we become able to get an apartment in any other way we can withdraw the investment returns from the account balance as if they were bank savings."

They also said that one fault of the system was that "we stand in line and cannot comply with the requests of the needy, even if they paid the whole balance, until after 18 to 24 months have passed. Nor does it realize the account holders' wish for an apartment, especially since the chances of getting an apartment are not great, and the apartments would be in projects in which the best homes have been already selected by those who reserved them." The real estate and housing bank officials reply to these questions by saying that this is a means of saving for homes at a time when Egypt is experiencing a housing crisis along with a steeply growing population; 18 to 24 months was the period for occupancy of the homes, since building construction can take anywhere from a year and a half to two years, therefore savings are used in addition to bank funding to build homes for them.

They said that the system permits granting low cost and other more exclusive apartments on condition that the price is paid; an account holder with a 5,000 pound balance and an apartment costing 20,000 pounds will obtain a 8,000 pound cooperative loan; thus the balance and the loan equal 13,000 pounds, so account holders are required to pay the difference of 7,000 pounds; this is the policy of the Reconstruction Bank.

In the case of an apartment obtained by a housing bank savings account, three such balances may amount to 20,000 pounds, of which 15,000 pounds is granted by the bank, plus the 5,000 pound balance in the account. The account holder seeks to pay off these loans within a period of 15 to 20 years.

Four Major Banks Multiply Capital

91AA0603A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
17 Aug 91 p 10

[Article by Ibrahim 'Abd-al-Aziz]

[Text] Measures have begun in Egypt to raise bank capital to reach the internationally required rates set by the Basle Commission, which will be fully applied by the end of 1992. This comes amid steps to develop the Egyptian banking system, including merging small banks whose capital is less than two million Egyptian pounds, led by the National Banks for Development, which will become branches of the Central Bank.

Measures have been taken to multiply the bank capital of the four public sector banks by six to ten times their current level. The Central Bank of Egypt has agreed to raise the Al-Ahali Bank's capital from 100 million pounds to one billion pounds; Egypt Bank [Bank Misr] from 100 million pounds to one billion; the Bank of Cairo from 100 million pounds to 650 million; and the Bank of Alexandria from 635 million pounds to 850 million. The 16 National Banks for Development, whose capital does not exceed four million pounds will be merged; they will become branches of the main National Bank, although this step will be taken after the new bank law is issued, according to Muhammad al-Barbari, deputy governor of the Central Bank of Egypt.

He adds that these steps are to preserve the efficiency of Egyptian banks, because the current period is a time of big conglomerates, and small banks will not be able to handle international competition. If small banks continue, they will be a hindrance to the Central Bank. He said that it had been decided to merge the small banks after the issuance of the new banking law.

He indicated that the capital of the other banks would be raised to a minimum of 100 million pounds. The banks would be given a grace period of 3 years in which to raise the capital; the manner of determining the increase will be left to the banks when their general assemblies meet to decide upon the method of funding the increase. Under the new law, the Central Bank will be permitted to set up a special system to insure deposits in accordance with which a portion of the banks' deposits will be discounted and deposited in the Central Bank as insurance for a maximum of 100,000 pounds per deposit per individual. This system guarantees distribution of risks for the banks and will boost confidence among depositors.

Mahmud 'Abdallah, president of Barclays Bank in Cairo, says that the idea of merging the small banks was discussed in the past, and its worthiness was agreed upon, especially

with regard to the National Banks for Development, of which there were 16 in the provinces, with capitals ranging from 4-5 million pounds. These amounts were sizeable when the banks were founded in 1978, but after the rise in inflation rates, it has become very small capital. The amounts also are insufficient capital for a bank that accepts citizens' deposits and employs them. Merging these banks would strengthen them and enhance their development role. There are also standards of efficiency for capital constantly tracked by the Central Bank, consistent with international standards, since the whole world is moving towards large entities, and multinational companies buy other companies.

Dr. Samir Tubar, president of the National [Democratic] Party's economic Committee, agrees that the small banks represent a danger to the nation's economy, because banks work with citizens' funds and there has to be a minimum to safeguard deposits.

The Central Bank was able to save the troubled banks, but the banks must have strong assets for protection, and if they do not, they must merge with another big bank. Wide-ranging economic reform measures in Egypt require an enlarged role for banks in economic development, and a second look at bank capital is needed in light of inflation rates and high prices. The whole world is moving towards economic conglomerates. By the end of 1992, there will not be any small banks left in the world, and if there is any small bank left, it will not be able to deal with the world's bigger banks.

Modifications Suggested for Banking Procedures

91AA0605A Cairo AL-AHRAM AL-DUWALI in Arabic
19 Aug 91 p 1

[Article: "New Proposed Law on Banks"]

[Text] The modifications proposed for the laws on banking, credit, and the Central Bank include important provisions to strengthen the Central Bank's role in monitoring and supervising banks. The Central Bank would be empowered to set discount rates and credit and debit interest rates and to supervise banking operations according to monetary and credit policy, without restriction by the limits stipulated in any other legislation.

Within this framework, the proposed banking and credit law, which incorporates these modifications, calls for the formation of a Central Bank board of directors composed of the governor, his deputy, and five representatives of banking agencies, including someone from the business sector.

The proposed law exempts government agencies as regards their refraining from granting credit facilities exceeding 25 percent of the bank's paid capital.

The proposed law also incorporates a call to bank shareholders, in case a bank encounters financial problems, to increase its capital or deposit supporting funds

during a period to be set by the bank's board of directors. If the period ends and the shareholders' funds are insufficient, the excess would be opened to public subscription, or a decree would be issued to merge or liquidate the bank.

AL-AHRAM's reporter Najla' Dhikri has learned that the new proposal, which Dr. Yusri Mustafa, the minister of economy and foreign trade, has handed to the National Council in preparation for its submission to the People's Assembly for approval, grants the governor of the Central Bank authority to permit foreign banks without branches in Egypt to open representation offices to study Egyptian markets in order to determine opportunities for investment in them.

The modifications include the creation of an institute to train workers in the banking system. The Central Bank would also be given permission to set standards for the adequacy of the ownership rights of each bank separately. The proposal stipulates that the governor of the Central Bank must be informed of decisions appointing bank board of directors members and directors general within 30 days of their appointment. The governor of the Central Bank may object to current bank directors general or those in equivalent positions during a period of 90 days from the date of passage of this law.

The proposal regulates the system for auditing a bank's accounts, the prerogatives of account monitors, and the internal oversight system.

If any bank disobeys the decisions of the Central Bank's board of directors, the board may decide to deduct from the bank's balance an amount not to exceed the value of the deficit in the liquidity ratio or in the credit balance prescribed in Section 41, times a percentage equivalent to twice the Egyptian Central Bank's loan and discount rate for the period in which the deficit occurred. This sum shall be added to the account for fees collected from banks.

If the deficit exceeds five percent of the required balance or persists for a period exceeding a month, the board of directors of the Central Bank may take any of the measures provided in Section 60B. It may dissolve the board of directors and appoint a trustee to manage the bank for a period set by the Egyptian Central Bank's board of directors. During this time, the matter shall be submitted to the bank's general assembly to choose a new board of directors. The board of directors of the Central Bank may take this step if it becomes clear that the bank's board of directors is incapable of carrying out its responsibilities and duties, thereby affecting the soundness of the bank's financial position and the welfare of depositors—this is in addition to the prescribed fine.

The proposal also stipulates that no legal proceedings may be brought for crimes specified in this law and that no measures may be taken involving bank workers

because of their performance of their jobs without written permission from the governor of the Central Bank or his deputy.

The proposed law provides that the board of directors of the Central Bank shall be granted the powers of a general assembly for public sector banks, particularly as regards approving the general budget and the profit and loss account, distributing dividends, allowing the bank to use appropriations for purposes other than those for which they were appropriated in the bank's budget, and amending the bank's charter. This would include such matters as extending or shortening the term of the bank, increasing or decreasing its capital, and approving bank mergers or splits. Any decision issued in this regard would go into effect only after approval by the cabinet. The general meeting would be attended by the chairman and members of the bank's board of directors and the two inspectors of accounts, but they would not have a vote.

The governor of the Central Bank, as general meeting chairman, would have the right to appoint the public sector representatives on boards of directors of banks and companies in which those banks hold shares, in light of nominations by the chairmen of boards of directors of public-sector banks.

Public [sector] bank chairmen would be assigned the job of appointing their banks' representatives to the general meetings of the banks and companies in which their banks hold shares.

Banks, Companies Reportedly Hurt by BCCI Deposits

91AA0590B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
12 Aug 91 p 9

[Article by Rashid Hassan]

[Text] The Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) affair has been felt in Egypt recently as the Bank of Alexandria—Egypt's fourth-largest government-owned bank—has seen withdrawal activity for days, accompanied by rumors that it has suffered losses because of BCCI.

The rumors were apparently triggered by news of the Central Bank of Egypt's request that the Bank of Alexandria supply BCCI some liquidity, within the framework of ongoing government measures to stabilize the situation and allow BCCI depositors to withdraw part, even a small part, of their deposits, estimated at \$700 million in the bank's branches throughout Egypt. Although the Central Bank's request for help from the government-owned Bank of Alexandria is a routine measure, the air of intense unease in the market since BCCI's collapse and the confusion of the government's stand on the subject of depositor compensation have helped to spread rumors to the Bank of Alexandria. It is supposed that the Central Bank, which does not enjoy

ready liquidity with which to confront a problem as huge as BCCI's, may ask other banks to supply the necessary cash to BCCI.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that the Egyptian Petroleum Company is one of the biggest depositors of BCCI in Egypt, that a highly placed government observer intervened to allow it to withdraw \$10 million of its bank deposits, and that this move alone helped the company, which operates most of the fuel stations in Egypt, to avoid liquidity crises which might have had repercussions on the fuel market in Egypt. Egyptian authorities recently decided to dissolve the board of BCCI-Egypt, to arrest three senior Pakistani employees, and to turn the bank management over to the temporary director appointed by the Central Bank, Abd-al-Ghani Jami'.

The sources, who spoke to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT on condition of anonymity, suggested that the BCCI crisis threatened to become another "al-Rayyan" affair due to the great diffusion of the bank and its branches and because of its base of nearly 7,000 depositors, with whose withdrawals the bank has stopped complying a few days after the group was seized by international central banks.

BCCI has nine branches in Cairo's commercial center clustered in major commercial streets such as Tal'at Harb, 23 July and Sharif Street, where most of the businesses and companies that enjoy surplus liquidity are located. Through an active marketing policy and offering higher interest, BCCI was able to build a broader depositor base than any other cooperative bank. The bank proceeded with an expansion plan, even opening branches in remote areas such as Upper Egypt with the aim of benefiting from exchange operations with the savings of Egyptian workers abroad, especially those working in Iraq and the UAE, thus enabling it to constantly increase its depositor base. It is clear that the bank's management in Egypt set interest rates to encourage depositors to commit deposits for no less than three months, and a significant amount of the bank's deposits are tied up for six months or a year.

AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT's sources added that the BCCI crisis and the confused measures taken against it shook ordinary citizens' confidence anew in Egypt's financial system at a time when the crisis of finance firms and its fallout are fresh in the minds of small depositors. The sources added that the crisis of confidence was manifested especially by the masses of citizens who withdrew their funds from BCCI or other banks due to the renewed threat, preferring to keep it "under the floorboards." The worth of the bank's deposits in Egypt is about \$600-700 million, making Egypt one of the bank's most important markets, although more than one-third of those deposits have been transferred to the bank's foreign branches, especially BCCI in the Cayman Islands. It is likely that a portion of these deposits can be recovered through liquidation, though that portion would depend upon determining the true volume of BCCI's losses, estimates of which range from \$6-13 billion, against the bank's budget of nearly \$30 billion.

What complicates BCCI's problems in Egypt is the fact that a large part of its domestic loans, estimated at nearly \$250 million, have gone to long-term projects, especially tourist projects badly hurt by the Gulf war. Several are unable to pay back their bank debts. Bankers in Cairo expect that the bank administration will be forced to reschedule a large part of the current loan portfolio, further complicating the subject of liquidity and delaying depositors' hopes for reclaiming their deposits, or at least part of them. In addition, the bank has been told by one of the Central Bank's employees to encourage even those able to honor obligations to demand rescheduling of their debts as truly impoverished debtors do, because the Central Bank naturally is not equipped to pursue deadbeats and recover the debts; BCCI-Egypt depositors are trying desperately to salvage what they can of their frozen deposits. Every day they form their long lines in front of the bank's branches and head office and some of them, it is said, spend all night waiting for fresh news. The bank opened its doors to depositors for two days following the seizure of the bank in Luxembourg and the Cayman Islands, and allowed small-scale withdrawals, but the former bank management then stopped honoring withdrawals until the Central Bank of Egypt intervened on the fourth day with a calming communique, and at the same time requested that the bank pay out a maximum of \$1,000 per week to each depositor. The Central Bank then retreated, setting the amount of \$1,000 or 3,000 Egyptian pounds as the maximum amount any depositor may withdraw at any time, until relevant authorities can formulate long-term options.

With the ongoing withdrawal activity, the Central Bank has decided to allow withdrawals from current accounts only, not fixed-term accounts, despite the fact that banking practice allows depositors to withdraw term deposits after paying a fixed penalty. The Central Bank asked account holders to submit a request to transfer their deposit immediately upon maturity to a current account so that they would be within their rights to withdraw the maximum legal amount. The Central Bank hopes thereby to buy time in which solutions might be found, and in which they might adopt an official stand regarding support of the bank and setting limits for that support. Highly-placed sources say that BCCI-Egypt's deficit may ultimately be so huge that the Egyptian government's treasury might have trouble carrying the whole shortfall. In this case, depositors' only hope would be the support Abu Dhabi might offer in terms of total or partial compensation similar to the support offered to depositors in Britain, and which the French, Luxembourg, and other authorities are now demanding. In the absence of this support, it will be up to the Egyptian government to decide—and soon—either to support the bank and help keep it afloat, or to initiate its permanent liquidation.

New Companies To Finance Real Estate Investments

*91AA0603B London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
19 Aug 91 p 11*

[Article by Ahmad Gharib]

[Text] The Egyptian Real Estate Bank has begun to submit new projects to Egyptian and Arab investors.

Bank president 'Adil 'Abd-al-Baqi told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that the bank had set up two companies, the National Real Estate Investment Company, capitalized at 50 million Egyptian pounds; and the Industrial and Professional Complexes Company, capitalized at 20 million pounds.

He said that the National Real Estate Company could help Egyptian and Arab investors wishing to start housing projects in Egypt by acting as a partner or by undertaking the real estate investment projects for them.

The company can also reclaim the land in which they want to invest, or for tourist projects.

Adviser 'Adil 'Abd-al-Baqi said that 125 million pounds had been set aside this year for loans to housing projects at various levels, according to a policy of credit ceilings set for banks every three months by the Central Bank so that loans will not exceed a set limit, in order to limit inflation.

He said that loans granted to prospective investors to build economic housing will amount to 60 percent of the property value with a maximum of 30,000 pounds at 17 percent interest for the first 8,000 pounds and thereafter at the rate set by the Central Bank. Medium housing will obtain loans at 18 percent interest; interest for better than medium housing is 19 percent, while luxury and tourist housing loans granted would be at 20 percent.

Interest and Investment

He said that the rise in interest rates on loans and advances, which had reached 30 percent from 14 percent, in addition to 9 percent support from the state, had affected investment activity in the real estate market at a rate of decrease ranging from 20 to 30 percent in selling, purchase, and building activity.

He added that an expanded meeting had been held between the president of the Egyptian Real Estate Bank and the Arab Real Estate Bank to look into the effect of the rise in interest rates on loans this year, particularly since the Egyptian Real Estate Bank had set aside 75 million pounds for loans, and the Arab Real Estate Bank had set aside 50 million pounds.

During the meeting, they agreed to prepare a detailed joint memorandum to be sent to the Central Bank of Egypt to explain the danger that the rise in interest rates posed to housing loans and the volume of losses that would burden the two banks if renewal of the Central Bank's loan contracts with the two real estate banks continued at the discount rate, with current loans at 21.5 percent at a time when borrowers such as the Society of Construction and Housing Cooperatives were refusing to pay off those loans with interest rates higher than those agreed upon in former contracts concluded years ago. Those were no more than 14 percent, with the state bearing nine percent, resulting in five percent interest.

The president of the Egyptian Real Estate Bank explained at the Society of Construction and Housing

Cooperatives had informed the Egyptian and Arab real estate banks that the National Investment Bank was still studying the subject of the rise in loan interest rates to determine who would bear the difference, which amounts to 7.5 percent, in light of what the cabinet has already decided and what the government stated in the Parliament about not raising interest rates for borrowers in low-cost housing projects.

The president of the Egyptian Real Estate Bank indicated that if the government stepped in to support low-cost housing for years, then dropped that support, then the issue would be conditional on the government's stabilizing that interest and deciding who would bear the difference between the old and new rates. He said that if this question were not settled, then the Egyptian and Arab real estate banks would consider refusing loans worth 125 million pounds on the grounds that they could not bear a burden that threatened their banks with failure.

He said that 2,300 housing savings accounts had been opened at the bank, with a total balance of 6 million pounds, and that an account balance exceeding 4,000 pounds for a period of at least 18 months would position the account holder to get apartments from the bank, especially since he can obtain three times his balance, to a maximum of 30,000 pounds, to buy an apartment or get one from the bank, with the first 8,000 pounds at the secured interest rate and the rest of the amount, up to 22,000 pounds, calculated at an interest rate according to the type of housing financed.

He went on to say that "160 apartments have been occupied by account holders who met the terms, leaving some 200 apartments being handed over now."

The president of the Egyptian Real Estate Bank mentioned that the bank, through investment brokers, was taking over the marketing of investors' and agents' projects for their own good and were currently marketing 2,000 apartments of various types and standards.

Apartments could also be bought for others who wanted them; they should confirm that the engineering and legal procedures of their construction were sound, to safeguard citizens' savings.

Housing Repairs

'Abd-al-Baqi said that while the bank had cancelled loans reserved for repairs on older properties several years ago, the bank saved those loans from its funds and granted to those wishing to repair their older properties loans up to 10,000 pounds on easy terms.

With these incentives, a loan is granted without requiring real estate registration for the property, unlike ordinary loans, but with other conditions and guarantees, such as the transfer of salary to the bank, or security in the form of a financial guarantor.

The president of the Egyptian Real Estate Bank indicated that to facilitate the bank's financial services and to assist investors in buying, selling, and financing real estate, the bank had opened two new branches in the governorates of Isma'iliyah and al-Ghardaqah on the Red Sea, increasing the number of bank branches to 10, to offer real estate investment financing services to real estate investors throughout Egypt.

Study Says 2 Million Feddans Irrigable

91AA0578A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 17 Jul 91 p 2

[Article: "Latest Study Reveals Existence of 2 Million Arable Feddans Using Nile Water; Land Reclamation Cost 20 Times Higher Since Sixties!"]

[Text] An economic study prepared by the Consultative [shura] Council confirmed the possibility of reclaiming 2.038 million feddans through Nile water irrigation and an additional 220,000 feddans through ground water irrigation. The study asked the government to expedite the implementation of the entire reclamation program to avoid the ever growing cost of reclamation which, the study showed, has gone from 500 Egyptian pounds per feddan in the sixties to 6,000 pounds in the mid-eighties to 10,000 this year. The study recommended the speedy implementation of the Salam Canal, the Isma'iliyah Canal, the Nasr Canal, and the al-Bustan Canal projects that will reclaim 1.6 million feddans. The study indicated that about 1.005 million feddans should take reclamation priority in the next few years, comprising 300,000 feddans in Upper Egypt and 700,000 feddans in the north.

Decrease in Fish Production Analyzed

91AA0625A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic 29 Aug 91 p 10

[Article by Sahar Fawzi]

[Text] Cairo—Egypt, a leading country on the Mediterranean Sea, which also overlooks the Red Sea and is blessed with long coastlines, lakes, and the Nile River—is facing a severe fish shortage. The drop in Egyptian fish production is attributed to the pollution of Egypt's lakes and the Nile by insecticides, sewage, and factory waste. As a result of these factors, fish production from High Dam Lake has dropped from 35,000 tons per year to only 14,000 tons. In addition, the surface area of Lake Maryut has declined from 50,000 to 15,000 feddans due to the draining of the lake.

Other factors adversely affecting fish production include the low level of fishing technology and state intervention to set fish prices, which is considered a primary obstacle keeping investors from investing in this sector.

Egypt's fishing grounds are estimated at 13.4 million feddans. Production from the lakes, and the Nile and its branches totals 272,000 tons. Production from the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea totals 68,000 tons

annually. Egypt currently exports 4,000 tons and imports 100,000 tons for consumers.

Egypt produces no more than 333,800 tons of fish per year, although per capita consumption is about 8 kg per year, which is considered a low ratio.

Majdi 'Abd-al-Wahhab, the commercial director at the Egypt-Aswan Fishing and Fish Processing Company, states that the production of High Dam Lake, which is the main source of consumer fish, totalled an estimated 35,000 tons in 1980. After 1980, it began to drop, reaching 14,000 tons this year.

Because of the production drop, fish has to be imported to meet domestic needs. Currently, 100,000 tons of fish are imported annually from England, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Morocco, and Aden.

Majdi 'Abd-al-Wahhab attributes the drop in production to: undeveloped fishing methods; the lack of regulation of fishing operations, which has led to overexploitation and expedited depletion of certain areas; and the non-exploitation of the high seas.

Fish processing operations in Egypt are still in a trial-and-error phase. There are only a few plants for processing smoked fish and herring. There is a factory in Aswan for fishing equipment, a fish powder factory, and two fish canning factories—all of which are insufficient to meet demands. This industry requires governmental support and help to import new production requirements.

The chief of the General Authority for Fish Resource Development, Tahir Yusuf, states that Egypt's annual fish production totals about 300,000 tons. Efforts are now being made to increase production to 500,000 tons per year by improving fishing methods and eliminating sources of pollution affecting the Nile and the lakes.

He adds that Egypt's eight lakes produce about 130,000 tons: Lake Manzilah produces 57,000 tons, Lake Burullus produces 52,000 tons, Lake Idku produces 8,000 tons, Lake Qarun produces 600 tons, and Lake al-Rayyan produces 735 tons. There are also 100,000 feddans of fish farms which produce 35,000 tons per year.

Tahir Yusuf traces the failure of fishing on the high seas to weak capabilities, a decline in the number of Egyptian fishing fleet vessels, and the lack of floating research centers to determine where fish are concentrated in the Mediterranean Sea and the Red Sea.

According to 'Abdallah Abu-Ghali, who represents the fish merchants division of the General Federation of Chambers of Commerce, fish production has dropped in Egypt due to the low level of fishing technology, the use of primitive boats, the high cost of spun thread [for nets], and problems related to the supply of ice to fishing boats, some of which spend a week at sea.

Also, governorates in which lakes are located have monopolized fish production in their respective jurisdictions in an attempt to become self-sufficient in fish, and fishermen are leaving the industry because the industry's low wages are not covering their needs.

Regarding the high prices of fish in Egypt, 'Abdallah Abu-Ghali states that most of the fish merchants deal with private-sector fishermen in al-Minya and Asyut who, in most cases, supply fish merchants with extremely poor quality fish. The merchants are compelled to seek better quality fish costing as much as 7 Egyptian pounds per kg wholesale, which is passed on to the consumer.

Abu-Ghali also points to the control exercised by fish farm owners over the prices of their yield, which results in high prices for some types of fish, such as grey mullet, in addition to the discharge of sewage into several lakes, which has killed the fish in them.

Due to the closure of several lakes, fishermen are unemployed and without a source of livelihood. Most of them have gone to Cairo to seek work. One such fishermen states: "I came to Cairo with my family seeking another livelihood in construction due to the depletion of most of the fish in Lake Qarun, the high costs of fishing, and the monopolization by the big merchants of our production, even before we go out to fish, which ultimately makes the fisherman indebted to the merchant for the expenses of the boat, nets, ice, and household expenses during the fisherman's absence. Also, the fishing methods are bad and the pollution in the lakes has killed most of the fish in them."

Mustafa Zaki, the secretary general of the Cairo Chamber of Commerce, who chairs the meetings of the Chamber's fish merchants division, believes that Egypt's chronic fish shortage should be solved by regulating fish farms, supplying them with good types of young fish, giving them guidance to facilitate their development, enforcing their adherence to the period specified for the growth of young fish, prohibiting them from using immature fish for livestock fodder, protecting regional waters from pollution and sewage discharges, seeking non-herbicidal means to control the Nile lily [*Nelumbo*], and imposing severe penalties on anyone who fishes with dynamite or insecticides. In addition, the monopolization by a few merchants of the catches of small fishermen should be ended by granting fishermen low-interest soft loans and renting fishing equipment to them at nominal rates. Furthermore, it is necessary to encourage investment in fishing and fish processing, establish large investment companies in lieu of the monopolization of production by several merchants, permit the unimpeded transport and marketing of fish between governorates, and require that a certain percentage of each governorate's production be sent to other governorates.

Also needed are modern fleets equipped with radar, maps, refrigerators, electricity, and technological means for identifying the location of fish concentrations on the high seas.

Rental Properties Increase 200 percent

91AA0617A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
26 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by Mustafa 'Abd-al-'Al]

[Text] Cairo—Prices of commercial property continued to increase at an average rate of 140 percent to 200 percent during the past three years.

Owners of high-rise commercial buildings say the major reason for the increase is the increase in interest on loans—the interest is doubling every year or hiked in cases of late payment—thereby making prompt payment an extremely difficult matter. Many property owners depend on banks for financing, and the sum of loans and the interest on them is eventually passed on to the tenant.

Other property owners believe that taxation, the continuing harassment of owners of these properties, and the lack of trust between them and the tax collectors lead to arbitrary demands which some people cannot meet or postpone, thus leading to their accumulation. The tax authority asked a high-rise building owner for one million pounds in taxes for the past five years. In fact, the property involved is a 14-story building with two apartments of 400 square meters per story. An apartment in this building was sold for 75,000 Egyptian pounds but the sale contract was made for 35,000 pounds. The tax man discovered this fraud when the landlord made the mistake of signing a contract with another buyer stating the actual sale amount. The price of an apartment in the same building this year went up to 180,000 pounds. The property owner believes that the tax authority charges him taxes on the basis of the increased prices and not the actual price. The tax authority also blames property owners for late payment.

Property owners say that the main reason for this problem is the increasing sale of commercial property and office space, which are in short supply, after more than 90 percent of these and of luxury apartments have been sold in the capital center and in residential neighborhoods and commercial centers close to banks, company offices, hotels, restaurants, entertainment centers, and cinemas. Of particular interest is the fact that sale and purchase transactions are always linked to an entertainment activity that is not unlike occasions of private and public celebrations. It is common knowledge that a number of commercial places that were opened between March 1990 and March 1991 each cost between 5 million and 7 million pounds. Another reason is the fact that the period between 1986 and 1988 was known as the period of rich brokers. At that time a number of businessmen and investors bought a number of apartments and commercial places which they later sold for substantial profit. This has led to a drop in supply and increase in demand, which eventually led to increase in prices.

On the other hand, we find that 1990 and 1991 were the years of commercial recession because of three principal

factors. The most important is the question of investment and its consequence, the damage the Egyptian economy suffered as a result of heavy losses in many sectors. This has forced some losing companies to put up apartments and offices which were for their own use for sale at very high prices in order to make up the deficit in their budgets, or repay debts to their agents and banks and so on.

The price per square meter went up by 1,300 pounds to 3,000 pounds in luxury areas such as al-Zamalik, al-Muhandisin, and al-Duqqi, while prices other areas such as al-Jizah and al-Haram [pyramids area] went up by 500 pounds to 800 pounds per square meter.

Some property experts say that the situation will remain as it is unless other areas are exploited for commercial property such as Madinat Nasr [Nasr C City and al-Ma'adi, which are better areas and can be exploited for commercial and office properties because of the advantage of easy transportation as well as their proximity to Cairo. Such areas could be highly attractive if they are properly planned and organized, if public parks and parking lots are set up in them, and basic services such as telephones and hospitals are doubled.

These areas are distinguished by their cheaper prices, which would ease pressure on crowded areas in the city center and eventually lead to drop in prices.

Alexandria Students Show Support at al-Qadhdhafi Seminar

91AA0555A Cairo MISR AL-FATAH in Arabic
8 Jul 91 p 5

[Text] At the seminar held by Alexandria University for Colonel Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, the students departed from the script. The students, who wore white T-shirts and sat in packed rows as one bloc, were chanting a single chant: "Hurray for Alexandria, hurray for the Jamahiriyyah." However, no sooner had al-Qadhdhafi made his speech—in which he explained in detail the gravity of the current situation in the region and the plans of Israel and America against Egypt and the Arab nation—than feelings were aroused and the cry went up, "Long live al-Qadhdhafi, hero of nationalism! Long live al-Qadhdhafi, darling of the Egyptians!" in addition to other Nasirist slogans in support of the way of 'Abd al-Nasir and unity, and condemning America and Israel. The temperature in the room rose, and the outpouring emotions prompted al-Qadhdhafi to tell the students: "You have reminded me of the time of the early seventies when I would visit Egypt and find the same ardent feelings in support of unity."

The only blemish on the symposium was the president of the students' union. Indeed, the man violated every rule of Arabic grammar: He would make the nominative accusative and the accusative genitive, and he pronounced the words incorrectly. He made students and

professors laugh out of embarrassment. One of those present commented laughingly: "Damn the [student union] elections!"

KUWAIT

Minister on Imports, Economic Diversification

91AE0575A Riyadh AL-RIYADH in Arabic
4 Aug 91 p 16

[Interview with Kuwaiti Interior Minister Ahmad al-Hamud al-Jabir al-Sabah by Farhan al-Waqayan al-Shamari in Kuwait: "Kuwaiti Minister of Interior to AL-RIYADH: 'There Must Be Objective Study, Comprehensive Evaluation of Security; Fifth Column Planted Among Us Conceals Something Other Than It Shows;'" date not given]

[Text] His Excellency Shaykh Ahmad al-Hamud [al-Jabir] al-Sabah, Kuwaiti Minister of Interior, said that Iraq's vile aggression left its marks on major components of the state and its economic, social, population, and health infrastructure. As a result, an objective study and comprehensive security evaluation needs to be conducted covering the objectives, plans, means, and volume of resources required.

In his interview with AL-RIYADH, he added that his highness the crown prince and prime minister's meeting with security leaders was that of a father with his sons. In his directives, he expressed his sense of how difficult the security mission is under present conditions, and the weighty burden borne by the men in the Ministry of Interior as they restore the security situation to what it was before the vile aggression.

He stressed that "the fifth column planted among us is divisible into two groups and that it conceals something other than it shows. In one hand they hold a rose, in the other a dagger, waiting for us to turn our backs to them so they can stab us. But given the alertness of the security men and the Kuwaiti people, we will defeat those cowards while they are in their dens."

He talked about many security issues concerning the common man at this critical stage, as security conditions begin to return to normal following Kuwait's liberation. The text of the interview follows.

Citizen Serves Security

[al-Shamari] We would like you to give us an overall idea of the new post-liberation concept of security in Kuwait.

[al-Sabah] First of all, it is a pleasure for me to greet you on Kuwait's liberation from the claws of the vile Iraqi aggression, which left its marks on major components of the state and its economic, social, population, security, and other infrastructures. In accordance with this change affecting various aspects of life, an objective study and comprehensive security evaluation needs to be conducted to include objectives, plans, means, and volume

of resources required, and the nature of issues and problems. This action will certainly require of us a major confrontation with difficult reality, as we ensure that the security apparatus is totally appropriate to the need for security, one of the citizen's most important needs and sources of reassurance and stability.

Although security was mainly in the service of the citizen before the treacherous invasion, following the liberation of our precious homeland the citizen must be mainly in the service of security, more determined and sensitive to genuine cooperation with security men in order to rid ourselves of the remains of treachery and aggression so that Kuwait can enjoy security as it once was, and even better, God willing.

[al-Shamari] You and Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah attended the expanded meeting with leaders in the security field. What is your evaluation of this meeting? How will it affect security in Kuwait?

[al-Sabah] The meeting of His Highness the Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah with security leaders was that of a father with his sons. He was clear and frank in his lofty instructions as he expressed his sense of how difficult the security mission is under the present circumstances and the weighty burden borne by the men in the Ministry of Interior as they restore security conditions to what existed before the vile aggression. Despite the scarcity of material and human resources, his highness stressed that for the country to begin rebuilding, it now needs even more the type of sacrifice and efforts we made to liberate Kuwait than then. Whereas security men worked a few hours before the aggression, they now need to be working all hours.

The address of his highness the crown prince and prime minister serves as a program and course for those of us who are leaders and officials in the security apparatus to follow. It will have a major impact on current and future policies and plans of the Ministry of Interior, having, we hope, a positive outcome for the security of liberated Kuwait.

Importance of Security Pass

[al-Shamari] Ministry of Interior centers continue to issue the security pass to residents. Could we get an idea of the nature of this pass and its role in maintaining security?

[al-Sabah] The security pass is a measure taken by the Ministry of Interior to distinguish residents in the country, as registered in the official residency records, from those who infiltrated the country during the period of occupation and remained here after the occupying Iraqi enemy was defeated. Immigration centers issued the security pass to a number of foreigners who held legal residency, whether current or expired. Work is ongoing to issue the security pass to the rest of those registered. Eventually, once the security pass has been issued to all

those entitled to it, anyone not holding a security pass and lacking a current residency permit will not be permitted to reside in the country. All those infiltrators and sneaks will be arrested and deported from the country once appropriate legal action has been taken against them, so that Kuwait, with God's help, will be cleansed of the human dregs left behind by the abortive aggression. The breeze of safety and security will return to the country and its people.

Fifth Column

[al-Shamari] Kuwaiti officials, foremost being the emir, frequently speak of the fifth column. In your view, what are the most effective measures that can be taken to reduce the danger of the fifth column and those behind it?

[al-Sabah] The infiltrating fifth column can be divided into two groups. As I indicated in my previous answer, the first group is those who entered the country during the occupation period to loot, commit crimes, and steal bread from the mouths of Kuwaitis. Some fled when the soldiers of malevolent Saddam fled. Others were ordered to stay to undermine security and stability. The second group is some of those who live among us, enjoying legal residence, those who laugh when we laugh, but who in reality are conspiring against us and working to plant rancor and cause confusion so that tension, anxiety, and disturbance will prevail in the country. They conceal something against us other than what they show. In one hand they have a rose, in the other a dagger which they are waiting to stab us with when we turn our backs. However, the alertness of the security men and the committed people of Kuwait will impair those cowards, even were they to hide in vipers' dens. Although some of them are beyond the reach of the security authorities today, inevitably they will be in the prosecution box and the hammer of justice will flatten their heads.

Occupying a Nation, Not Robbing a Grocery Store

[al-Shamari] Some media and official agencies abroad have raised questions about the current trials in Kuwait of a number of those who collaborated with the aggressor during the occupation. Others assert that the Palestinians and Jordanians are nothing less than hostages in Kuwait. What is your comment on that?

[al-Sabah] Perhaps the line of the poet, "When I am censured before you by someone deficient, I take it as testimony of my perfection," is the most eloquent response to those malevolent, envious mouths and pens which were disappointed by the defeat of the Iraqi enemy. Unfortunately, there are some media organizations abroad, which we cherish and appreciate for their competency and efforts, that were led into this exposed media campaign, the aims and intentions of which are well-known. They rushed to judgement regarding the integrity of the Kuwaiti judicial system and accused it of issuing unjust sentences. What are the unjust sentences they claim? The Kuwaiti judicial system is considering

cases of the occupation of a nation, not the robbery of a grocery store. The death sentence and sentences of life or a term in prison were pronounced against agents who participated in the crimes of the savage occupier: murder, looting, plunder, rape, kidnapping, violation of personal sanctity, and aiding in establishing the occupation. It would not have been difficult for Kuwait to have conducted the trials in secret, but it took it upon itself to conduct them openly so that the entire world could witness how greatly Kuwait respects the judiciary, justice, and human rights.

It is patently false to claim that the Palestinians and Jordanians are hostages, since the country's exits are wide open for anyone who wishes to leave. All they have to do is pass by the Immigration Bureau to take out an exit permit. Were they hostages, they would not have received security passes, their automobile license plates would not have been exchanged, and they would not have been given facility to move about the country legally, without restriction or interrogation.

Had we wanted to make them hostages, we would have done what certain corrupt regimes have done. We would have brought tanks and armor and encircled their places of residence to prevent them from moving.

Despite the pain and the bitter disappointment inflicted on us by some of them, we are not vengeful or vindictive. Having suffered injustice, we do not wish to be unjust. Hence, we always keep God's words before our eyes and in our hearts: "Whoever does good with a measure of corn will see good; and whoever does evil with a measure of corn will see evil," and, "Whoever's scale is heavy will live contentedly; but if one's scale is light, ahead of him is the abyss; you know the nature of a searing fire."

Penal Law Must Be Respected

[al-Shamari] Certainly there are wrongful individual actions taken by some in Kuwait to harm the country's reputation. What measures is the Ministry of Interior taking to confront them?

[al-Sabah] I agree with you that they are actions harmful to the country's reputation. We wish they had not happened, but those who behaved badly included persons who had a dear one killed, whose corpse was used as an example, who had a sister or wife kidnapped and raped. There were those whose houses were destroyed, whose wealth and a life's toil were stolen. Those people had very powerful psychological motives that caused them to lose their balance and pushed them into committing these acts. But once the government returned, and the Ministry of Interior assumed responsibility for security, the chaotic security situation that had dominated the country during the occupation and for a few days thereafter began to wind down and security conditions returned to what they had been previously. There are still some deviant individuals, but the security men will take care of them. The judiciary will put an end to their behavior. We have a law called the Kuwaiti penal law which everyone must respect and take into consideration.

Let Them Beware The Consequences

[al-Shamari] How do you view the operation to collect weapons left behind by the Iraqi invaders of Kuwait? How cooperative have the people been with the Ministry of Interior?

[al-Sabah] When the defeated Iraqi enemy fled the beloved land of Kuwait in the first hours following the onset of the ground war, he left behind him heaping piles of arms, ammunition, and equipment to bear witness to his cowardice and losses. Some people rushed in to get them for reasons we know, others for reasons we do not know, keeping them either in their homes or in other locations. This represents a danger to their lives and those of their families. Moreover, possession of weapons, ammunition, and explosives without a license is considered illegal and punishable by the law. This is why we issued Ministerial Decree 18/1991 calling on citizens and residents to turn over the weapons, ammunition, and explosives they have to the border posts specified during the month from June 2 to July 2, 1991. A number of citizens and residents went to these posts and turned over the weapons and explosives they had. They have our thanks and appreciation. As for those who continue to hold unlicensed weapons, ammunition, or explosives in their possession of their own accord, I say very frankly: "Let them beware the consequences and the severity of the punishment."

Report on National Council Policy Discussions

91AE0587A London SAWT AL-KUWAYT
AL-DUWALI in Arabic 14 Aug 91 p 4

[Report from Kuwait by 'Abdallah al-Sha'rawi and 'Abdallah al-Tall: "Debate of Foreign and Domestic Policies Postponed to Next Session; National Council Discusses Health Services, Fair Apportionment to Regions"]

[Text] The National Council yesterday held the seventh meeting of its 12th session under the chairmanship of Deputy Chairman Rashid 'Awad al-Juwaysri. The council debated several projects and proposals previously submitted by deputies. Some ministers responded to member questions and queries while others asked to respond at future meetings. Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Salim al-Sabah asked the meeting to allow the government to postpone until the next meeting its response to deputy queries on foreign and domestic policies. The meeting dealt mostly with health issues in the country. Deputies inquired of the minister of health on the progress of restoring health services. Health Minister 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Fawzan responded with an account of what his ministry has accomplished in that regard. He explained that it is not easy to restore health services to their pre-war levels,

since health facilities suffered more than their share of looting and destruction at the hands of Iraqi forces. A number of delegates touched on the extraordinary reluctance of certain state agencies and bureaus to issue the salaries of their Kuwaiti employees. Following are the minutes of the meeting.

The meeting started when National Council Secretary General Ibrahim al-'Askari called the names of deputies absent with or without an excuse.

'Abd-al-Halim al-Juhaydli then spoke before he was given the floor and was cut off by the Chair, who asked the secretary general to open the meeting by deliberating approval of the minutes of the previous meeting.

Delegate Sa'dun al-'Utaybi got up to commend the veracity of SAWT AL-KUWAIT newspaper, especially in a recent report on Iraqi cease fire violations. 'Ali al-'Umar said he wished to comment on a report by AL-FAJR AL-JADID newspaper that an ad hoc committee was planned on POWs and MIAs. The Chair responded: "Our brethren the reporters are present with us here in this hall and I hope in the public interest that they pay attention to such mistakes."

Jawwad al-Matrak: "There are mistakes in the minutes. There are consistently misconstrued phrases and there are also comments on certain proposals."

Al-Juwaysri objected and said that debate should be confined to the minutes.

'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhaydli: "There is a Kuwaiti personality that always writes on the economy and attacks the minister of information."

The Chair: "Do not deviate from the minutes."

Al-Juhaydli: "I will keep on pursuing this matter even if the council has to be called in for an additional meeting."

Hammud al-Jabri: "I request that the record be purged of remarks by my colleague al-Matrak to the effect that the council has yet to accomplish anything."

The [previous] minutes were approved and the meeting moved to the second item on the agenda.

Dr. Muhammad al-Haddad: "We notice by the number of appeals to the council that there is an employment system flaw in both private and public sectors, as evidenced by large numbers lining up at the Social Security Administration to request retirement. I hope that the ministers concerned will find solutions to these problems, especially at the Ministry of Education, where there is a high incidence of resignations and requests for early retirement, which runs contrary to our strategy for populating the country."

Chairman al-Juwaysri: "I was told by one complainant that his problem has been resolved. I hope that the rest of the brother ministers follow suit."

Sa'dun al-'Utaybi: "The petroleum sector is suffering administrative imbalances and employs non-Kuwaitis despite the availability of qualified unemployed Kuwaitis who even continue to draw salaries."

"As to complaints of the Kuwaiti employees of the excavation company whose salaries are delayed or suspended by the head of the contractor firm, this is contrary to the interests of that firm."

'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhayli: "Here is a complaint to the minister of information."

Al-Bashar Ma'tuq: "This is not on the agenda."

Al-Juhaydli continues: "I am entitled to bring up this matter under the journalism item. We have assassin militias here."

Then Interior Minister Shaykh Ahmad al-Hammud objects and says: "I request to point out that we have no militias here in Kuwait, either by families or individuals. Thank you."

'Ali al-'Utaybi: "I request that Kuwaitis be issued their salaries."

An intense discussion ensued.

Khalifah al-Khuraifi: "With due respect to the ministers concerned, why are some of these complaints submitted to the council? Why have they not been resolved? For instance, why have the salaries of certain individuals been withheld since 2 August of last year? I request that the director general of the public institution look into the grievances of his employees and issue them allowances if they are so entitled."

Ya'qub al-Sharhan: "I propose the establishment of a special authority to resolve Kuwaiti employee problems."

Minister of Communications Habib Jawhir Hayyat: "First of all, it is forbidden to hold two jobs at the same time. I will check with the institution's director and with the Public Employees' Office and will issue such allowances when possible."

'Ali Husayn al-'Umar: "There are Kuwaitis employed by the Kuwaiti Company for Financial Mediation who have not received salaries for a long time, since last year to be exact. I hope that those employees will not have to seek relief in the courts but if they do, how long will it take to resolve their problems when they are supporting their families? We will never finish if this keeps up. I request that the minister of state resolve this matter."

Minister of State Dari al-'Uthman: "Member 'Ali al-'Umar was kind enough to ask the minister of state to intervene, but this is absolutely prohibited by law. There are laws governing the private sector and we do not want to disregard these systems. I believe that other agencies, such as the Ministry of Social Affairs, are more appropriate for resolving the daily problems of such citizens."

'Ayid 'Allush: "The business of Kuwaitis not receiving their salaries is totally unacceptable. Kuwaiti youths must be encouraged to seek government employment. As to harbor employees, they deserve more than three bonuses."

Talal al-'[Ayyar]: "We do not resent the forwarding of complaints to the council, but we hope that the brother ministers would expedite the resolution of such problems. As to the proposal by some brethren to establish a department for grievances, I should hope that problems get resolved without need for such an agency."

Muhammad al-Muhmil: "I support the remarks of colleague Sa'dun al-'Utaybi and call for the creation of an administrative court to resolve such administrative problems that may occur in the future."

Al-'Uthman: "First, I hope that problems get resolved without need for administrative courts. The member colleague should know that such an administrative court has been in operation for 10 years."

Badr al-Bashar: "Sa'dun al-'Utaybi's comments are very serious and I request that an investigating committee be formed immediately to put an end to such violations."

The council then turned to another subject.

The interior minister: "A draft law on weapons and ammunition possession has been referred to your esteemed council and has been discussed with me in committee. I request that the council expedite this bill because of its importance. Thank you."

Kazim bu-'Abbas: "The response was not adequate and failed to indicate the value of contracts with foreign firms. The response to the query also failed to list certain firefighting firms, and is furthermore vague and ambiguous in general. Also, the response by the minister of state for municipal affairs did not include the names of Kuwaiti agents representing those companies." [paragraph sequence as published]

Minister of state for municipal affairs: "There were no Kuwaiti agents at the time the contracts were let. The companies were engaged directly."

Marzuq al-[Hubayni]: "The response by the minister of finance to my query is inadequate. It seems that the minister does not know the amounts expended even though the query was focused on seven items. I request that the minister respond to this next week."

Minister of Finance Nasir al-Rawdan: "Circumstances prevented me from providing that information. It would take at least two months, as I previously mentioned. I supplied the member with preliminary figures at his own request. He said he wished to receive preliminary figures as an indication of good will. Some of the figures I supplied to the member have been released and are easy to obtain."

Marzuq al-Hubayni: "The totals are known. When we say give us the totals, we mean total and comprehensive details and supporting figures. I believe that figures on military expenditures are available to the minister, who is also hedging on the question of pensions. Some newspapers have been able to arrive at estimates for the outlays."

No Secrets From the Council

Al-Rawdan: "If the member insists on receiving complete data, then he must wait two months. As to pensions, they amounted to 150 million dinars per month. I can not provide such data until after I have completed the final statements. I have nothing to hide from members of the National Council."

The council then began discussion of item 5 dealing with the Ministry of Education.

Muhammad al-Muhmil: "The response to the query is inadequate and I continue to pose it to the minister of education. Many schools, especially those for girls, have not been adequately maintained. This is something that the minister failed to mention in his response."

Al-Rawdan: "I request that the response and comments be deferred to the next meeting, when the minister of education will be present."

Dari al-'Uthman: "The response was received by the member, who queried the minister of education and I request that he read it carefully."

Muhammad al-Muhmil: "The response contains no figures."

Badr al-Bashar: "We should take some action when a minister is negligent and does not include sufficient data."

'Ali al-'Utaybi: "I have received no response from the minister concerned with employee requests for loans from the Savings and Loan Bank."

The council's Secretary general narrated a number of queries and asked their presenters to withhold comments until they have studied all the incorporated data.

The crown prince and prime minister then stood up to say: "Concerning requests by the brethren for details of the government's foreign and domestic policies, I ask that you give us until the next meeting, thank you."

The Chair responded: "Does the council agree to the government's request?"

Forty-five of those present raised their hand in approval and the Chair declared the request approved.

Response of [the Ministry of] Health on public services.

The minister of health heads for the lectern and says: "The answer is ready. After liberation, the ministry focused on basic health services. It organized medical teams and also dispatched medical teams to contract for the purchase of

certain equipment from some of the sister Arab countries. In addition, a medical team was assigned to provide needed medicine and health services."

Al-Fawzan adds: "When we entered Kuwait after liberation, we formed an emergency committee to provide citizens with needed health services. We also conducted comprehensive health surveys three times in a row and ascertained that Kuwait was totally free of epidemics."

The minister of health continued his account of his Ministry's accomplishments: "During the three-month emergency period we were forced to tap the domestic market for our manpower needs until we could import qualified workers."

The minister used preliminary figures to articulate his account of restoring health services and said: "Four clinics will be opened for the first time in the next few days to meet citizens' needs."

Minister al-Fawzan pointed out that population contraction and other changes in the country in the wake of liberation have diminished the need for more medical centers, and said that hospitals are almost back to normal and will be undergoing future development with an eye to a potential increase in the population as the number of expatriate workers increases."

Al-Fawzan explained that wide-scale looting of equipment during the occupation depleted most hospitals and medical centers, which must now be refitted and resupplied.

He added that the Ministry will reopen certain specialized centers, such as the center for dentistry, and that it also plans to open 60 dental clinics in all population centers. The plans will be completed this year.

Al-Fawzan added: "We have allotted one million Kuwaiti dinars under the emergency plan for the extermination of insects and rodents. In addition to medical supplies and equipment, the Iraqi regime stole medicine valued at 18.5 million dinars. The ministry is still dealing with the problem of maintenance at its public utilities because foreign contractors are encountering difficulties, especially in obtaining skilled labor.

The minister added that 145 ambulances and four centrifuges valued at 4 million dinars were pillaged.

"We have imported 1,050 non-Kuwaiti physicians since liberation and continue to import trained technicians to man hospitals and medical centers."

The minister said that the Ministry's printing plant was also pillaged and is currently being refitted. We will have 58 medical centers operating by the end of this year. Sixty such centers had been totally destroyed.

Sa'dun al-'Utaybi: "I relinquish my turn to Fayiz al-Bughayli."

Fayiz al-Bughayli: "I am concerned with advanced health facilities in the al-Farwaniyah governorate. Only

nine of the governorate's 18 health centers have been opened. In view of the density of the population, I request the opening of the remaining centers, and the specialized units in particular. We have many observations on the hospital and especially its substandard public relations staff. I request a better choice of employee for the public relations department. I also request that an increase in the number of medical centers be contemplated. There is only a single doctor at the main hospital in al-Farwaniyah, which makes absolutely no sense. The hospital's kitchen is infested with insects that carry diseases to sick citizens."

Badr al-Bashar: "The minister said that we have 1,050 physicians and that more of them will be working in the country to meet its needs. Meanwhile, many Kuwaiti sons and daughters are denied university admission, specifically to the schools of medicine and pharmacology. This should never be and is a flaw in health policies."

Dr. Muhammad al-Haddad: "Indeed, we have an active minister of health who is diligently working to raise Kuwaiti medical standards in general. We, as the council's health committee, went on field trips to certain hospitals and found little love between doctor and patient. Kuwaiti patients endeavor to be treated abroad. The remarks by brother Fayiz al-Bughayli are valid and should be addressed."

Marzuq al-Hubayni: "We must be able to absorb the domestic element because it is essential for upgrading medical services. Unfortunately, there is such a gap between the Ministry of Health and the University of Kuwait that we lack such requisites for the development of health facilities. The report by the minister of health does not concede to health policy miscalculations. A person who tries is liable to make mistakes. There is the case of one non-naturalized citizen who studied to be a doctor but was rejected by the Ministry of Health. He has since gone to work for a neighboring country where he became naturalized."

An Ailing Government

Khalifah al-Khurafi: "The minister of planning said at the last meeting that the government was "ailing" and I am afraid that this ailment has spread to all. Government officials are know-it-alls and pay no attention to observations by the deputies. I wish the government would take down our remarks and instruct its agents to implement them.

"I personally have great respect and esteem for Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah. The question here is why would a surgeon forget an instrument inside a patient? There is also the tragedy of misidentified infants. I hope that no child of the minister gets lost one of these days. I therefore call upon the minister to punish such offenders and report on the

action taken to the council, in recognition of its oversight function, at the next meeting.

"There are non-Kuwaiti doctors who did humanitarian work during the occupation and they should not be punished for the transgressions of others. I believe that those doctors did heroic work and put themselves in jeopardy during the occupation. They must therefore be given special consideration."

Jawwad al-Matruk: "The state of our health services remains below par. There are patients who still bring blankets and food from home because of the low quality of furnishings and food provided. There is a lot of that to be said but..."

'Abd-al-Latif al-Bahr: "I laud Marzuq al-Hubayni's remarks on lowering the requisite scholastic achievement scores to allow the admission of Kuwaitis to medical schools. I also wish to stress, with regards to POWs, that necessary medical procedures should be instituted and that they should be given comprehensive medical checkups on their return home."

'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhayli: "The Kuwaitis made a lot of sacrifices during the occupation, but let us be reasonable in our expectations from the Ministry of Health. Were it not for the current Ministry of Health, our state of health would have been at its lowest because of the magnitude of destruction inflicted upon general health utilities in Kuwait. And yet, I hope for fairness in the allotment of health centers to various parts of Kuwait."

"I therefore ask the minister of health to reexamine the allocation of health facilities to the various regions. It not reasonable to have one medical center for 300 patients and another for only five."

Sa'dun al-'Utaybi: "I thank Badr al-Bashar for his comments, but certain regions are in need of expanded clinical capacity. The clinic at Sabah al-Salim, for instance, is affiliated with the al-Qurayn region, but the number of hospitals remains unchanged. Also, there are Kuwaiti people who still work at medical centers abroad. Are there no Kuwaitis left in the [health] administration? We should also lower the score for admission to medical schools, especially for girls."

'Ali al-'Umar: "I commend the remarks of my colleague Badr al-Bashar, but I have two observations. Kuwait has, in fact, turned into an experimental field. Many expatriates train in Kuwait for five years then leave for some European country where they run clinics to receive Kuwaitis who are there for treatment! There is also the phenomenon of Kuwaiti patient dissatisfaction with treatment rendered at local hospitals. Is that because the waiting lines are long or is there some other reason? I hope that medical facilities get supplied with Kuwaiti elements, at least at primary levels."

The meeting was adjourned for noon prayers until 1245, when the floor was again given to Deputy 'Ali al-'Umar to finish his comments on the Ministry of Health.

Al-'Umar: "Has it been determined how many technicians the Ministry of Health will need to open all medical center hospitals throughout the country? Is there coordination between the Ministries of Health and Planning on the appointment of non-Kuwaitis? I thank Deputy Muhammad al-Mash'an for his follow-up on cases of treatment abroad."

Barrak al-Nun: We must now use a different mentality than we did before 2 August, when things happened in a random fashion. That is why I am hoping that medical services will develop and improve. I don't wish to rehash stories of hospital negligence, such as leaving an instrument inside a patient, etc., because that has been adequately covered by the colleagues who preceded me. I call for convening a general conference in Kuwait, to which we would invite world-class physicians. This would allow us to benefit from their international expertise rather than dispatch Ministry of Health delegates to those countries."

The Chair: "I request that the brother minister of health implement those remarks in order to benefit all regions of Kuwait without exception, since they are all equal."

660 Kuwaiti Physicians

'Ali al-'Utaybi: "Many patients get even sicker for going from committee to committee to be diagnosed. I hope that the Ministry of Health will put an end to such negative practices."

"Also, the minister of health mentioned that there are only 660 Kuwaiti physicians. This is too few. Does Kuwait have a policy in this regard? I also hope that hospitals in the outlying regions receive adequate attention."

Muhammad al-Muhmil: "What is the Ministry's policy on environmental pollution in the country? We hope it will reconsider the appointment of health center secretaries general in view of the subject's importance and impact on the delivery of health services."

Muhammad al-[Musaylim]: "Patients tend to seek treatment in the private sector because medical services are below standard. The al-Firdaws region, for instance, has only one clinic, despite a dense population."

Munayzal al-'Anzi: "I thank the minister for his thorough explanation. We appreciate that his ministry has suffered extensive damage at the hands of the loathsome Iraqi aggression. We wish to draw attention to problems with al-Jahra' clinics, and especially to the relocation of the al-Nasim clinic. Moreover, the al-Jahra' hospital is suffering severe shortages and needs to be brought up to full operation in view of the increasing number of patients it serves. There is a patient who was sent abroad for treatment but was returned to the care of the same physician."

The minister of health: "I would like to assure you that all the points raised here will be given proper attention

and so will remarks dealing with Kuwaitization in general. As to the desire of citizens to be treated abroad, there is a relevant report that brother Muhammad al-Mash'an will be receiving."

The minister of health continued: "As to the surgical instrument that was left inside a patient; this happened because of the large number of patients who arrived all at the same time—they were soldiers wounded by a mine explosion—and because of the ensuing confusion and the number of patients or injured who were admitted to the hospital—there were 11 of them. Actually, the problem was handled and the instrument removed. Doctors are only human.

"As to clinics which have not yet been opened, I would be willing to show my deputy brothers how much damage was inflicted on those facilities. As to the number of Kuwaitis employed at the ministry, there are very few of them in technical departments, but a tremendous number is employed in administration. This is why we import the technicians we need to run the hospitals and clinics. The comment that POWs did not receive proper medical care is patently false and the opposite is true. A center has been established at Ruqa'i just for that purpose. The main kitchen at the al-Farwaniyah health facility is short of some equipment. As for admission to medical schools, this is a matter for the Ministry of Higher Education."

Ibrahim Bursali: "We in Kuwait need specialized equipment. Have we made relevant arrangements and do we plan to charge for medical care?"

The minister of health: "There are no present plans to charge for health services, but this could be a future consideration. Any employee of the ministry who has not received his salary should let me know."

The council then voted to end discussion of the health issue in Kuwait, and moved on to Item 59, on internal security. But 'Abd-al-Karim al-Juhaydli, chairman of the security committee, objected and asked that the debate be deferred until the following meeting. The council agreed.

Information Policies

Minister of information Badr al-Ya'qub discussed information policies and said: "We need to have every man work for Kuwait as it faces an information campaign no less intense than a real war. The Kuwaiti Information Ministry played a distinguished role before the occupation, but the Iraqi regime set about to destroy that singular Kuwaiti institution. When the government was at al-Ta'if, it was concerned with developing media in order to counteract Iraqi the information apparatus, which operated at full throttle on its home ground while ours was scattered at that time and operated with the help and support of sisterly countries. We introduced certain innovations such as initiating a radio broadcast from Saudi Arabia and televising bulletins in the Kingdom."

We Were Supported by Gulf Media

Al-Ya'qub continued: "Kuwaiti citizens abroad assisted the Kuwaiti information effort by rallying behind it, each according to his ability, but we were subjected to a counter-campaign. I would like to note at this point that Gulf media supported Kuwait with historical loyalty that will never be forgotten. The Kuwaiti media played a singular role by getting their hands on and keeping track of all favorable reports. We are also doing a good and proper job now, despite a shortage of the Kuwaiti element. I must tell you in all professional candor that neither the Kuwaiti and Gulf media, nor even the international media, were prepared for such a crisis, because it was unthinkable. This is how it was with us during the occupation.

"It is worth noting that several Kuwaiti ministers and officials personally wrote articles and got involved in all kinds of information efforts to advance the Kuwaiti cause.

"The Kuwaiti information ministry has two objectives. The first is to put forth Kuwait's cause and warn the world against a repetition of the catastrophe that befell Kuwait.

"I would like to point out that we are in pitiful shape in as far as technical radio and television facilities are concerned. The invading regime confiscated all studios and mobile units, as it planned from the very beginning, in recognition of the value of information during the occupation. We will be restoring our information capability in the very near future. We will build an ground station for satellite communications. We have already completed refurbishing regular television [stations] and hope to develop them even further [at a later date]. I will be inviting deputies of the National Council a month from now to visit the ministry and get acquainted with our new information facilities. The objectives of the information plan we put together at al-Ta'if are to shape the Kuwaiti individual, encourage domestic expertise, and communicate Kuwaiti policies to the world. The strategy focuses on the theater as a means of spotlighting the Kuwaiti character of moderation and antagonism to injustice."

The Press

Minister al-Ya'qub emphasized that progress is being diligently pursued to help to confront new developments. "The influence of the press cannot be denied. The editors of Kuwaiti publications are in a race to serve their people and their country. The objective of the current press censorship is to prevent indulgence in settling personal accounts.

"As minister of information, I am personally cognizant of real cooperation by the brother editors of local publications. We will be holding training seminars for Kuwaiti media [personnel] and will soon be announcing a Consultative Council for Kuwaiti Information, whose function it will be to draw information strategies of

service to Kuwait. It will also be a function of that council to cull Kuwaiti expertise from other ministries."

Meeting Chairman Rashid al-Juwaysri then asked if the council would be willing to hold off debate until the following meeting, but Dr. Muhammad al-Mas'an requested that Minister al-Ya'qub distribute his report to the council.

Debate was then closed and the council turned to a discussion of a bill submitted by the Council of Ministers for a decree on arms and ammunition possession. The draft, marked "urgent" in view of its importance and at the request of the minister of information, was referred for more study and scrutiny to the legislative and legal committee, the internal security committee, and the defense committee.

Al-Juwaysri asked if the council would agree to adjourn until the following Tuesday. The motion was put to a vote at 1415, but failed to pass.

Debate was then opened on social security issues. Barrak al-Nun was the first to speak, but Ibrahim Bursali interrupted with a point of order. The Chair gave the floor to Deputy Fayiz al-Bughayli who stated: "I request that Barrak al-Nun be granted the right to express an opinion on social security plans for the retired."

But al-Nun was not given an opportunity to speak his mind. He objected and withdrew from the meeting.

A number of deputies then spoke.

Hammud al-Jabri: "The proposal by Barrak al-Nun should not be considered unless it has been submitted in writing to the Chair."

The constitutional expert: "A proposal must be submitted in writing."

Deputy al-Nun therefore lost that round.

Kazim bu-'Abbas then quoted the law on deducting a portion of the salaries of retirees who wish to sell a portion of their retirement pensions.

Minister of State Dari al-'Uthman requested the floor to say: "We all realize that the social security law is the best. It is an umbrella that protects all Kuwaitis. The system currently in force underwent intensive study before it was adopted. We must therefore consider the total concept and avoid pulling that system apart. I hope that there be will no intervention by requesting amendments believed by some to meet certain needs. We must stop before we consider any amendment. It might be well to review this law, but then this should cover the system in its entirety."

The council resolved with a 38-vote majority to delay discussion of that issue. The meeting was adjourned at 1500 to the following Tuesday.

Meeting Vignettes

Crown Prince and Prime Minister Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Sabah arrived at exactly 1015 and left the meeting at 1235.

The meeting was attended by most of the ministers and a remarkably large number of deputies. Commented a member: "They're all back from travel."

The same proposal was submitted by three deputies, none of whom was in attendance. They are 'Abbas al-Khudari, Hammad al-Tuwayjri, and Jasim [Qabazird].

Minister of Information Dr. Jasim al-Ya'qub defended the Kuwaiti media during the crisis, saying: "Kuwaiti media was not to blame under such very difficult prevailing conditions."

Said Deputy Khalifah al-Khurafi: "Why can't the hospitals be privatized in order to improve services?"

The minister of information said that there was no denying the role of newspapers and their editors, who compete in the service of the country. He emphasized that there could be no journalistic effort without constructive criticism and expressed hope that censorship would be lifted soon.

Council Deputy Chairman Rashid 'Awad al-Juwaysri attempted to keep Deputy Khalifah al-Khurafi from making certain remarks, but the deputy responded: "I enjoy parliamentary immunity that allows me to continue criticizing the government."

Deputy Fayiz al-Bughayli said that outlying regions do not receive the same health care as regions of the interior.

Member Munayzal al-'Anzi said that "we hear talk in government agencies about [the lack of] health care in outlying regions and that different criteria are employed for the assignment of physicians. I hope that there is no truth to any of this."

Said Deputy al-Khurafi: "I have every respect and esteem for the crown prince and prime minister, because he toils for Kuwait and its people day and night."

Deputy 'Abdallah al-Khudayr al-Hajiri told reporters: "We should feed you to reward your efforts, especially since you have been writing for six or seven straight hours!"

By 1400, some deputies began leaving the meeting without permission. Commented Deputy Badr al-Bashar: "It is a shame to be hungry!"

Talal al-'Ayyar, secretary general of the council and deputy chairman of the meeting, came to the floor more than once to express opinions on subjects under discussion.

Deputy Jasim al-Amir told newsmen: "The security committee has completed reviewing the weapons possession bill, but it is not yet a done deal."

Editorial Considers Role of Media in Political Discourse

91AE0568A London SAWT AL-KUWAIT AL-DUWALI in Arabic 26 Jul 91 p 1

[Article in "Good Morning Citizen" column: "Lighting a Candle"]

[Text] What is taking place inside the National Assembly in Kuwait is part of a debate taking place in administrative offices, in expanded and extraordinary meetings, and within every family in Kuwait. It is an ongoing and continued debate that has not ceased since the birth of the new state of Kuwait was proclaimed, although it has assumed different forms at each stage in accordance with existing conditions. The media have contributed to enriching this debate at all stages, even though some media concentrate only on the negative because of a stereotyped belief that concentrating on the negative makes them more popular.

Because the assembly, at its last session, concentrated on the role of the media in the issues it was discussing, with some members supporting and others opposing that role, it may be useful to shine light on the National Assembly's role at this stage, as well as on the role of the media; for the two together, the assembly and the media, voice the concerns of Kuwait and Kuwaitis. Let us first consider the assembly's recent open session. Assembly members commented on and debated a number of important subjects, starting with the issue of the 20,000 dinars per Kuwaiti family, then the issue of competitive bidding for contracts, and finally military expenditures, expenses for citizen support, and the success of the Education Ministry in preparing to receive students. These are all subjects that occupy public opinion in Kuwait and that involve serving the public interest. Even when some members raised issues concerning specifically-named citizens or sometimes a single individual, the discussion was meant to emphasize a principle—the need to remedy injustice wherever it is, whether a single individual or a group are affected. Furthermore, discussion and resolution of a problem affecting a particular individual will serve as a pattern for other problems and inevitably prevent injustice from befalling others.

Talk in the National Assembly about "a citizen's resignation" is a sign of democratic life in Kuwait. It is a life that bears the concerns of a single family, from its eldest to its youngest individual. Compared with the Western democracies, this debate is, without exaggeration, a shining local example based on customs, traditions, and a heritage of mutual responsibility and compassion among members of the community. At the same time, the community does not lose the ability, desire, or will to build a modern life with the modern institutions that this life entails—institutions that have become a hallmark of

the free societies that contributed and participated in the war to liberate Kuwait from the clutches of tyranny.

Although the National Assembly is temporary and is carrying on its functions until the coming elections, when the parliament [Majlis al-Ummah] will take its place, the debate continues. It is basic to the steadfastness of Kuwaiti society and to its ability to confront attempts to divide its ranks, either by the criminal acts of terrorism that preceded the invasion, by the naked military force that followed the invasion, or by the poisoned, biased rumors that followed liberation. This public, frank debate on various levels will remain our continued guarantee of a single, united community able, because of its vitality, to confront all regional and imported illnesses and diseases.

The media complement this role. For their part, they try to involve the largest possible number of citizens and residents. Whereas a parliamentary deputy represents a specific area or class, a medium of information tries to reach everyone. It is not satisfied for citizens to play a passive role of seeing, reading, or following the debate; it wants them to participate actively in it and express their opinion about what happens. Thank God that Kuwait has had and still has "popular" writers and journalists, and that the country's "academics" are not hesitant to give their opinions and suggestions about questions that require specialists. In short, this society has proved to itself and to the world that it is a responsible society and that every individual in it can carry responsibility spontaneously and voluntarily on the strength of an unquestionable love of country and of service and sacrifice for it. One last point—that focusing on the negative makes a People's Assembly member or an information medium more popular. There is a large amount of truth in this, with one exception—namely, that this rule holds for communities that have not, in a single year, undergone an experience no community has undergone before. This experience involved the uprooting and dispersion of half of the community, while its other half was subjected to unprecedented acts of murder, rape, repression, and imprisonment. Such an experience and its destructive effects remain visible around us on faces, in the streets, and even in the sky. They demand that we reconsider certain stereotyped convictions; that we not wrong others, lest we wrong ourselves; that we cooperate with the positive things around us, considering them a sign of health, so as to work to develop them and build on them. We must act according to the proverb, "It is better to light one candle than to curse the darkness a thousand times."

Official on Education Developments, Policy

91AE0525B Cairo AL-ANBA' in Arabic 5 Jul 91 p 3

[Interview with Ibrahim Aba-al-Khayl, Director of al-Farwaniyah Educational District, by Nawwaf al-Shammari; place and date not given: "Ibrahim Aba-al-Khayl, Director of al-Farwaniyah Educational District, to AL-ANBA': 'Enrollment in Schools Confined

to Kuwaiti Students and 10 Percent of Non-Kuwaiti Students; Contracts With More Than 6,000 Egyptian Teachers in Initial Phase; Teachers From Countries Supporting Invasion Not Recalled; Students' Concept of Arab Unity Shocked"]

[Text] Ibrahim Aba-al-Khayl, director of al-Farwaniyah educational district, has announced that admission to schools will be confined to Kuwaiti students, plus 10 percent of non-Kuwaiti students.

He said that 25 percent of al-Farwaniyah district schools have been totally destroyed and that only 105 out of 138 schools in the district will be operating.

In his interview with AL-ANBA' during his visit to Cairo, Aba-al-Khayl pointed out that contracts will be concluded with more than 6,000 male and female teachers from the Arab Republic of Egypt in an initial phase. He also urged the need for reliance on Kuwaiti labor, not just in teaching but in all fields.

Aba-al-Khayl added that lessons learned from the crisis, including the lesson of the need for self-reliance, will be included in school curricula.

He stressed that the Iraqi invasion has caused a strong reaction among students to the concept of Arab unity and Arab solidarity, because of the divisions between those supporting and those opposing the invasion. He said that this is a serious matter and that the idea of isolation within the country must be eliminated from their minds, because the Arab nation must remain interconnected, and because what has been done by some rulers is the result of personal ambitions.

Following is the text of the interview with Aba-al-Khayl, director of al-Farwaniyah educational district:

[Shammari] What preparations has al-Farwaniyah educational district made to receive its students?

[Aba-al-Khayl] The most important work we have been doing since the liberation is inspecting the condition of the schools to determine how much damage they have sustained and how fit they are to go into operation. We have finished this phase and we have checked the condition of all schools and what usable and unusable furniture and equipment they have. A survey has also been conducted on the number of students expected to be registered in schools. According to this information, the opening of a number of schools, nearly 30 of them in al-Farwaniyah educational district alone, will be postponed until the next academic year. Thus, we will reopen 105 schools out of a total of 138 that were in operation prior to the Iraqi aggression.

This figure is subject to change, and depends on the prompt refurbishing of existing schools. Should there be a delay in taking over some schools that are undergoing maintenance, then we will be compelled to postpone opening some of them. The inverse is also likely. If we find, for example, that there is a need to reopen a certain school in a certain residential area, then we will be

compelled to redouble our efforts in order to reopen that school on schedule. Active efforts are underway and foreign firms, especially U.S. firms, local firms, and Saudi firms are participating in the efforts to get the buildings themselves ready. As for books, most of them have been printed in Egypt and are now ready. These books will be different from the previous curriculum, considering that the school year will consist of two semesters and that each semester will represent a full academic year. Consequently, new textbooks compatible with the new curriculum had to be prepared. We have most of these books ready in Kuwait. The rest will be printed in the near future. In Egypt, the Kuwaiti Educational Center supervises these books.

Regarding science laboratories, which are very essential, a contract has been concluded with a British firm which has made visits to all of Kuwait's educational districts and has noted the needs of the middle and secondary schools. These schools will be supplied with new laboratories, God willing. All these things must be completed sometime before the start of the academic year.

[Shammari] What is the extent of the damage sustained by schools controlled by al-Farwaniyah educational district?

[Aba-al-Khayl] After checking the damage in all schools, we have found that nearly 25 percent of the schools are totally destroyed. The percentage may be higher in the other educational districts, especially in al-Jahra'. Damage to other schools varies, but I can say that nearly one-fourth of the schools require simple maintenance and restoration. The others require extensive work.

[Shammari] What about getting the teaching staff ready?

[Aba-al-Khayl] Regarding male and female teachers, the Coordination Directorate is currently making a survey of the schools' needs for teachers. We have drafted the budgets for the educational districts and submitted them to the ministry's Coordination Directorate. The educational districts' needs for all specializations are being surveyed. Some of these specializations are available in Kuwait. Contracts will be concluded with the rest, most of whom will be from Egypt. We will conclude contracts with more than 6,000 male and female teachers in the initial phase. Lists of these teachers have been prepared and contracts are being concluded with them.

[Shammari] Are you going to enlist the help of teachers from countries that have supported the Iraqi regime?

[Aba-al-Khayl] To date, we have not enlisted the help of any of them and we will not summon them to work.

[Shammari] To what degree are Kuwaiti male and female teachers relied on?

[Aba-al-Khayl] Frankly, there will be reliance on Kuwaitis not only for teaching. There has to be total reliance now on Kuwaiti labor for teaching and for administrative and skilled jobs. Kuwaiti elements will be encouraged and Kuwaitis will be trained and prepared.

There will be a qualitative leap in this regard. As for shortages and deficiencies continuing after these steps are taken, labor will be secured from sisterly and friendly countries.

[Shammari] What, in your opinion, are the lessons learned from the crisis?

[Aba-al-Khayl] The most significant lesson is the need for self-reliance. Previously, we relied heavily on others for many things, especially for labor in the various fields, whether in the area of public service or in private firms and businesses. Even a merchant who relied on Asian elements, for example, finds that he cannot conduct his business now as he did in the past, because these elements are not available. Consequently, work comes to a halt. This is why public conduct has to be reexamined and why citizens have to be trained psychologically and practically to rely on themselves in these matters, especially in state affairs, so that work will not stop as a consequence of certain circumstances that may crop up. The crisis has demonstrated the capability of the Kuwaiti youth. In the past, many people did not trust the Kuwaiti youth, on the grounds that it is pampered and that it is not interested as much in work as it is in good times, fun, and recreation. But during the period of endurance, we were surprised by the capabilities of the youth and by their desire to work in areas in which we had never expected our young men to engage.

[Shammari] What are the reasons that led to detonating the Kuwaiti youth's ability to work and to endure hardship—an ability that had been previously repressed?

[Aba-al-Khayl] Before the invasion, a young man felt reassured and confident of the future, believing that the conditions of prosperity would continue and that security would remain stable. He never thought that these elements would be threatened one day. Therefore, when the invasion took place, young men and even children felt that all those conditions came to an end and were not guaranteed. The natural reaction has to be self-reliance, so that the youth can ensure that they will have a role in this country's continued prosperity, security, and reassurance.

Taking Students' Feelings into Account

[Shammari] There is no doubt that the students' psyche is different now from what it was before the invasion. Are there new ways to deal with this mentality?

[Aba-al-Khayl] The students' psyche, whether of those who remained steadfast at home or those who were compelled by the circumstances to remain abroad, must be taken into account. This is why a study is being conducted in this regard and why a working group has been formed to lay down the psychological foundations to deal with the students and to adopt new approaches to deal with them. For example, in the past we had the social specialist who took charge of affairs—most often routine matters, and administrative matters at times. I believe that the social specialist's role must be reexamined and that he must have a greater role psychologically,

so that he can solve the problems that may develop now from the psychological effects suffered by students as a result of the occupation and period of endurance.

[Shammari] Do you think that it is necessary to introduce changes to school curricula?

[Aba-al-Khayl] New elements and concepts must be introduced into the curricula. But before the curricula are amended, the educational objectives must be reexamined, because our educational objectives remained unchanged for a long time. The last time they were reexamined was eight years ago. Educational objectives must be a living entity that moves and changes according to the circumstances, be they local or international. It is my opinion that even if there was no invasion, these objectives should be reexamined every three years. But now, in light of the circumstances we have experienced, change has become a must. The educational objectives must serve the new tendencies and new social relations that may develop in Kuwait's society. The educational objectives must be examined from all aspects, even from the aspect of relations with other countries, especially since the priorities themselves have changed.

[Shammari] Do you think that it is necessary to unify the curricula of the GCC member states?

[Aba-al-Khayl] There is no doubt that this unification started sometime ago. This is the task of the Arab Gulf Education Bureau, which is headquartered in Riyadh and has branches in the Gulf states. It has actually begun to unify some materials in mathematics, in some science branches, and in social studies. But this unification must now be accelerated and must be integrated more completely, provided that it does not wipe out the individuality of each country. Rather, the curricula representing each Arab Gulf state should be individual, while the general framework is unified.

[Shammari] Are there certain objectives behind the unification of curricula?

[Aba-al-Khayl] There is no doubt that unification has its major positive objectives. It facilitates movement from one country to another. If the student so wishes, he will encounter no difficulty in such movement. The main objective is to ingrain the concept of unity in the student so as to achieve the greater objective, namely to make the student aware and confident that all these states are one interconnected state.

Reaction

[Shammari] The Iraqi invasion has shocked the Kuwaiti student and created in him a certain reaction to the concept of Arab unity and Arab solidarity as a result of the divisions that have developed among the Arab states. How will you tackle this issue?

[Aba-al-Khayl] This question is very important. Educators, social workers, and legislators must pay attention to it. There is no doubt that the Kuwaiti citizen in particular, and the Gulf and Arab citizen in general, has reacted with shaken confidence in Arab unity and solidarity. We belong to a generation that has demanded unity and that has believed, and continues to believe, in unity. Our belief is firm and unshaken. We consider these developments a transient matter. This is why we don't want what has happened to influence the mentality of the youth, some of whom have already begun to disavow Arab unity and who believe that as long as this is the Arab nation's condition, then they should isolate themselves.

This is a dangerous tendency that serves the common enemy, namely the Zionist enemy. This is what the enemies want from the Arab countries. We must not follow this tendency. Consequently, the new curricula must serve the objective of restoring trust in the Arab nation. We must try with all means, be they educational, psychological, or social, to eliminate the idea of isolation within the country from the youth's mind. The Arab countries need each other. The developments they have experienced are nothing but transient developments and personal wishes of rulers who have sought to achieve their personal aspirations at the expense of the Arab peoples.

[Shammari] Will admission to schools be confined to Kuwaiti students or will it include others?

[Shammari] To date, admission is for Kuwaiti students, plus 10 percent of non-Kuwaiti students. But it has not yet been determined how this 10 percent will be divided. Moreover, it may be increased. Last April, the ministry registered non-Kuwaiti students from all groups and nationalities in Kuwait at that time so that it could at least have a count of the existing number. Now that final agreement has been reached on the percentage, the 10 percent will be chosen from these groups. There is no doubt that priority will be given to the sons of doctors, engineers, and others. The issue of students registered in Iraqi schools during the occupation will also be considered. The ministry has lists of these students. As his excellency the minister has stated, they will be considered students who have transferred from Kuwaiti schools to Iraqi schools, and they will be treated accordingly. It is very likely that they will not be permitted to study in Kuwait's schools.

Education Minister on Recovery Plan

91AE0546B London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic
19 Jul 91 pp 50-51

[Interview with Kuwaiti Education Minister Dr. Sulayman al-Badr; "Occupation Still Affecting Education Plan Year Later;" place and date not given]

[Text] Kuwaiti Education Minister Dr. Sulayman al-Badr said in an interview with AL-HAWADITH that the Iraqi aggression aimed to wipe out the identity and

achievements of a nation and a people and destroy the state's infrastructure. All cultural and educational institutes have been destroyed and their furniture and equipment plundered. The aggressors occupied schools and learning institutes and turned them into military barracks, wrecking their contents. He said the Iraqi occupier totally destroyed more than 140 schools.

About rebuilding the educational sector, he said the new government has put education on its priority list in view of its critical importance and impact on all the social sectors. At the instructions of Prime Minister Crown Prince Shaykh Sa'd al-'Abdallah al-Sabah, the government has devoted all its resources to enable the education sector to resume its role and begin the scholastic year as early as possible. The date of reopening schools has, in fact, been set for 24 August, at which time girls' and boys' schools will be equipped and furnished.

Dr. al-Badr affirmed that educational reconstruction will be comprehensive; it will benefit from the ordeal, its experience, and its outcome. It will be realistic in its approach, looking toward the future and its opportunities. It will ensure that the educational plan is the result of dialogue and interaction between the brothers involved in education and its problems, and not based on the decision of an individual.

"Our primary aim is to build the Kuwaiti man's faith, values, thought, will, knowledge, and skills, and to enhance his ability. It is not just restoring the equipment, the buildings, and the other material things, for these can be quickly obtained. But the basic issue is the real change in orientation, behavior of the individual, his way of thinking, and to raise his general cultural standard."

The following is text of the interview:

[AL-HAWADITH] What preparations and steps have you taken in order to begin a new scholastic year?

[Al-Badr] After God Almighty has bestowed on Kuwait liberation, security, and safety, it was necessary to repair schools and prepare them to receive the students on schedule. The Ministry of Education has laid down a two-part program. The first includes one complete scholastic year beginning on 24 August 1991 and ending 1 February 1992. At first, studies will be restricted to those students who were in the country but who were prevented from completing the last scholastic year by the occupation. With regard to students who were studying abroad, they will join a special program within the same time frame, beginning on 24 August and ending on 16 January. The program includes some science, literature, and religious subjects as well as workshops such as carpentry, electricity, sanitary installation, and computers. After their Kuwaiti colleagues who stayed at home complete their exams, they will join them during the second semester of the scholastic year which they were supposed to begin last September. They will join their Kuwaiti colleagues in July 1992.

The philosophy of having two semesters is to ensure fairness for both our sons who stayed in the country and those who were abroad. For example, if two students from the same class prior to the invasion were promoted from the second intermediate class to the third intermediate, and one of them remained in Kuwait and the other left, then the one who left joined an Arab or a European school and passed the third intermediate class exam while his colleague in Kuwait did not attend the third intermediate class, joining the first semester would compensate the student for the period his colleagues studied abroad. Meanwhile the student who went abroad will, during the same time, join the vocational program. They will both join the second semester of the fourth intermediate class and in the summer, God willing, both will graduate from the fourth intermediate class.

[AL-HAWADITH] Are there any changes in the school curricula?

[Al-Badr] In view of present pressure on educational materials, the ministry decided to cancel music lessons and extracurricular programs, and to condense physical education and home economics. It added a new subject, Kuwaiti history, which students will learn beginning in the fourth elementary class, as part of national education which will deal with the problem of Kuwait and the severe conditions Kuwait has experienced during the Iraqi invasion. It has also developed the curricula so as to include in the various educational materials information regarding Kuwait's ordeal from the political, environmental, and social aspects. For example, the ministry has introduced new data about pollution, chemical and biological weapons, the oil disaster, and the marine pollution it has caused. Also, in the Arabic language studies the ministry included subjects dealing with the invasion, resistance, and support by friends and brothers. They also deal with subjects concerning Kuwaiti society. All these subjects have been amended so as to be consistent with the post-liberation stage.

The scholastic year is going to be long, but this is an exceptional thing in view of the regrettable events of the past. We have reduced the number of schools because some of them have been completely destroyed. We will also be facing a problem in transportation, since there are not enough buses right now. We have also been forced to increase the number of students in classes because we cannot operate all the schools in view of the damage and destruction the Iraqi aggressor has caused.

There will be difficulties in transportation despite the fact that the ministry has contracted some transportation companies to transport students, but I am afraid this is not enough.

The ministry has also drawn the outlines of a program for students returning from abroad. They will study Islamic educational materials, languages, and cultural and social activities, as well as practical subjects (22 lessons per week). The practical subjects include electricity, building and construction, agriculture, and

cooling and heating. For female students, there will also be home economics and interior decorating. Students will have to prove attendance of these subjects by no less than 75 percent. They will take exams in these subjects in order to join their colleagues who missed classes. School staffs will report to schools on 3 August in order to prepare for exams for the second semester of the general secondary and the secondary certificate, which will begin on 13 August. Summer vacation will begin on 26 July 1992 and end in October 1992. The new scholastic year begins in October 1992, by which time we will have overcome the negative effects of the unjust aggression.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about the students who are currently studying for the general certificate exams, such as the general secondary certificate?

[Al-Badr] Both male and female students who obtained the general secondary certificate in any country abroad will naturally enroll in the university. Those who fail will study two semesters in their respective countries. For example, there are 500 Egyptian students who studied in Kuwaiti schools for whom we have opened special schools in Egypt. A Kuwaiti committee will go to Cairo in order to examine them. The same thing applies to those in Damascus and other countries.

[AL-HAWADITH] Have the teaching and supervisory staffs been completed?

[Al-Badr] The brother teachers who signed contracts with the Ministry of Education and who were teachers with it, or were in Cairo and taught in Kuwaiti schools have been summoned. They will arrive in Kuwait by the end of July. They have been informed not to bring their families with them. They should first come alone in order to check their apartments and to ensure their living and work conditions.

[AL-HAWADITH] What were the Kuwaiti leadership's guidelines to the ministers with regard to reconstruction after the new government was formed?

[Al-Badr] The guidelines of the ruler of the country to the ministers call for total devotion to the task of rebuilding Kuwait as quickly as possible. The prime minister is sparing no time or resources in order to overcome all obstacles on the road to rebuilding. With regard to our educational sector, the crown prince is anxious to see the educational process proceed according to plan in order to resume its position and even to be in a better position than before. The care and support we feel the crown prince is demonstrating is total and honorable, coming from a responsible person shouldering the burden of reconstruction with his colleagues, the ministers. Undoubtedly, he is anxious to see Kuwait regaining its health as soon as possible.

[AL-HAWADITH] What would you say to the countries that have played host to Kuwaiti students during the ordeal?

[Al-Badr] In fact, as a citizen more than a person responsible for the education sector, I cannot find words enough to express thanks and gratitude to the sisterly countries, especially the sisterly Gulf countries, Egypt, and Syria, who welcomed not only our male and female students but also Kuwaiti families. They also enabled them to live a dignified life, were hospitable towards them, and showered them with sympathy and compassion. One cannot thank them enough. This is a debt that Kuwait will not forget. We, as citizens, will not forget what the heads of these countries and peoples have done. The Kuwaitis did not suffer, despite what their kinsfolk and people at home suffered from. With regard to schools, it was, of course, an honor for our children who joined schools there, so their studies did not suffer while they were abroad. The Kuwaiti government opened schools for them in the countries in which they lived.

I reiterate my thanks to the sisterly and friendly countries for their serious efforts to liberate Kuwait from the tentacles of occupation and to purify it from the filth of the aggressors.

The Arab countries loyal to their cause and principles, and the friendly countries that are committed to their pledge have participated in the liberation operation.

[AL-HAWADITH] What are the programs to prepare Kuwaiti youth for the future?

[Al-Badr] The Education Ministry's objectives are based on the government's objectives as a whole to build a good and responsible citizen whose behavior, actions, and endeavors are guided by the lofty values and principles which our magnanimous religion calls for, as well as by his honorable Arab values. Building a good citizen is one of the most important tasks the ministry should undertake to achieve its objectives. Today's student is responsible for tomorrow; building him educationally should be based on devotion and loyalty to his country. In its curricula, the ministry has devised educational materials aimed at implanting such concepts in the student's mind and conscience so that he will behave in accordance with these principles and values.

[AL-HAWADITH] When will studies in the university be resumed?

[Al-Badr] University studies will begin during the third week of September as planned. University programs have been drawn up to enable students who missed classes to make up the time lost by attending two summer semesters.

As for university equipment, these will take longer to become available than it would be in the case of schools, particularly in the engineering, sciences, and medicine faculties. It is planned to have these completed by January 1992. As far as the Ministry of Education is concerned, we are in a race against time. We would like to reassure our Kuwaiti sons at home and abroad that the scholastic year will begin as scheduled and that school equipment will be provided by next July.

I would need to write volumes if I were to describe to you the destruction sustained by the educational, cultural, and heritage institutes in Kuwait. Black hatred dominated the Iraqi officers' and soldiers' minds; they have set fire to schools and academies, trashed books, files, and laboratories, and have stolen computers. They left nothing intact. The number of schools burnt or destroyed has totalled 140.

[AL-HAWADITH] What about museums and cultural centers?

[Al-Badr] They have destroyed everything of cultural and historic value. The only explanation for destroying and wrecking these things is the black hatred the Iraqi regime is harboring. It concentrated its destruction on cultural things, such as the Kuwaiti Museum that was completely destroyed; the Faylakah Museum; the heritage section of the National Council for Culture, Arts, and Literature, which was flooded with water; the Academy of Scientific Research, the biggest research institute in the Middle East, whose contents, books, and equipment were destroyed; and the university, whose library and equipment were plundered. Also, furniture, tables and even the blackboard, electrical switches, fans, and big air conditioning units were not spared. They even tried to steal the plastic floor covering in the library of the art faculty. Such viciousness is frightening.

[AL-HAWADITH] Will you be contacting international bodies on this matter?

[Al-Badr] Yes, contacts have already been made. A UN mission came here last March and took note of what happened and documented everything it has seen.

[AL-HAWADITH] Do we have records of the cultural objects?

[Al-Badr] Yes, it is known where everything ended up. We know where the library of the Research Institute has gone; we also know where the library of the faculty of literature has gone. The contents of the Museum of Islamic Archeology have been plundered and are now in the archeological museum in Baghdad. The UN has records of all these things in order to claim them from the Iraqi regime in accordance with the Security Council resolutions on this matter.

[AL-HAWADITH] How do you perceive the future of the Arab regime and how can we avoid a recurrence of what happened?

[Al-Badr] In my view, there was no real solidarity between the sisterly countries and no cooperation based on the principles of respect, freedom of expression at home, and the building of a sound democracy. We will see more dictators like Saddam who will destroy what present generations are building, will break the Arab spirit, and will even affect the Muslim and his ideology. This is because what happened in Kuwait has unfortunately brought Arab divisions to the surface. This happened as a result of the actions of a dictator who

subjugated his people and suppressed them, thereby preventing a dissenting opinion from being heard. Personality cults in the Arab world must end. The Arab people must realize that deifying individuals is an unacceptable principle. An individual is appreciated for what he does for his country and nation, and not for his personal ambitions.

[AL-HAWADITH] What would you say to the Kuwaiti people returning to their homeland

[Al-Badr] I would say to them welcome. We pray to the Almighty God to unite our ranks, to purify our hearts from malice, and to help us learn the hard lesson of what happened to Kuwait. We should live in harmony and be cautious.

OMAN

Chamber of Commerce Head Interviewed on Post-War World

91AE0590A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
31 Jul 91 pp 36-38

[Interview with the president of the Omani Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Maqbul Ibn 'Ali Sultan, by 'Isam Hashish in Muscat: 'Oman Did Not Profit Much From Its Ports during the Gulf War;' first three paragraphs are AL-MAJALLAH introduction; date not given]

[Text] The Omani Chamber of Commerce and Industry is the same as always, with its laws, rules, and regulations, but something is different. It has become more important. Merchants and businessmen look to it, visit it frequently, because they feel that it strongly represents them, defends their interests, and supports their activities.

AL-MAJALLAH met in Muscat with Maqbul Ibn 'Ali Sultan, president of the Omani Chamber of Commerce and Industry, or "trade consul," as some like to call him. In this interview, he discusses the decision to except him [from the chamber's election rules], and the reasons behind the edict.

He also discusses important issues that are now being raised on the Omani economic scene, including the issue of the Omani Government selling a portion of the shares it owns in public companies to the private sector, the role of imported labor in the development process and in efforts with regard to "Omanization", the idea proposed by the Omani Central Bank to merge local banks and the difficulties that this entails, the dispute that has erupted between national and foreign insurance companies and, the issue of various incentives being offered by the Gulf Cooperation Council [GCC] states to national industries, and the effect of these incentives on economic integration.

[Hashish] Many like to call you 'trade consul.' Is this a fair description of your current position?

[Sultan] It is good enough to be called president of the Omani Chamber of Commerce and Industry. This is more correct and precise.

[Hashish] The recent chamber elections, as everyone can attest, were a model of the spirit of democracy and honesty. However, most commentaries stressed that keeping your name off the list of candidates—after the issuance of an edict appointing you—cooled off the elections. What is your comment?

[Sultan] The chamber's general system is to elect 14 members of the chamber who live in Muscat to the board of directors, and to appoint seven other members from the provinces. The general system also requires that the president be the one who obtains the most votes in the election. The term is four years. The last elections were held in 1987, and I got the highest number of votes. Consequently, I have been president of the chamber for four years. In the meantime, before the date of the elections, a decree was issued excluding me from the general system, so that I could be president of the chamber for another four years.

Naturally, Sultan Qabus thought that this was the ideal solution for the chamber's presidency. In my opinion, the reason such a decree was issued was the success of the chamber's board of directors in its tasks and in achieving the goals, or most of the goals, that it had planned. While the chamber's president is the one who represents the board of directors, perhaps issuing the decree exempting me from the general system to continue the tasks as president of the chamber, should be ascribed to that success.

Success and Failure

[Hashish] However, a number of prominent names on the last board of directors protested against being nominated for membership again. It was said that their withdrawal from the election campaign was because of their feeling that the board of directors had not been successful in achieving its goals. What is your view with regard to their protest?

[Sultan] This is simply their evaluation. However, in my opinion, their refusal to be nominated was for personal reasons, or because they were preoccupied with their own businesses, since the chamber does take up a good deal of time and effort, at the expense of personal affairs. However, I consider this work to be a national duty in which qualified businessmen should participate.

Major Accomplishments

[Hashish] In your opinion, what are the accomplishments in the recent board of directors' term that you are proud of?

[Sultan] The recent board of directors came in during a period of economic crisis and stagnation, which began in 1986. In this period, the private sector began to encounter many problems. Competition became very

keen, while revenues declined. Accordingly, the private sector's need for the chamber increased, as opposed to the situation before 1986 when business was good, in light of large governmental expenditures. In my opinion, the chamber's most notable accomplishment was the formation of a committee to stimulate the private sector, under the chairmanship of the deputy prime minister for fiscal and economic affairs. The chamber was represented on this committee, in which all issues, problems, and difficulties encountered by the private sector were discussed.

[Hashish] What is your view regarding the former members of the board of directors who have said that they failed to achieve the private sector's aspirations through the chamber?

[Sultan] It is very difficult to satisfy everyone. At the same time, there were other things that we did not accomplish that we should have accomplished. Therefore, the dissatisfaction of certain board of directors' members might be appropriate.

Dependence Rejected

[Hashish] What is your evaluation of the private sector's position in the system of developmental work in the Sultanate?

[Sultan] The private sector depends a great deal on the government. In turn, the government relies on oil income. The private sector and the government must work together to change this close connection, i.e., the private sector should rely on itself, and the government should change its dependence on oil revenue through diversifying its sources of income, because there is a serious danger when a nation is dependent on one source of income. Here, the danger is in the private sector not standing on its own two feet, but remaining greatly dependent on governmental expenditures. Any economic system urges the private sector to rely fundamentally on itself, in addition to reliance on governmental expenditure. Once again, this means that the private sector must play its part in establishing public companies, in participating in investments, and in selling the government's shares in private sector companies. That sector should participate to a greater extent in training and in playing a role in marketing and export operations. This, of necessity, would lead to a bigger role for the private sector in those areas. Therefore, the chamber's role in coordinating between the government and the private sector becomes important, as does its participation—for example—in achieving ways for the government to transfer its corporations into the private sector, in establishing new corporations, organizing activities in the securities market, and in preparing and organizing exhibitions. Work then becomes a joint venture between the government, the chamber, and the private sector, for the purpose of diversifying sources of income and developing the state's economic structure.

Gulf War's Effects

[Hashish] Everyone is talking about the effects left behind by the Gulf war. They see negative effects here and positive effects there. Our question pertains to your evaluation of the war's impact on the Sultanate. Did Oman succeed in benefiting from its relative advantages during the war?

[Sultan] I don't think that Oman succeeded in exploiting its relative advantage during the war. In my estimation, the most important advantage was represented by the Sultanate's ports being located outside the Gulf, as well as Oman as a whole being away from the focal point of fighting. Consequently, one could talk about a suitable opportunity to exploit the ports, for instance. However, in fact, the potentialities of these harbors are limited in terms of storage and port facilities. Therefore, Oman had no option to benefit from its relative advantage. Despite that, Oman did try, to some extent, to use these limited resources.

Concerning the talk about negative effects, in my opinion—aside from being represented by the difficulties in obtaining goods in certain Gulf ports—those effects were also represented by the shaking of local and foreign investors' confidence in the investment climate during this period. This resulted in the withdrawal of large deposits from local banks and transfers to foreign banks. This happened in most of the Gulf states, but it did not occur to any great extent in Oman. Confidence in the Omani economy continued. Moreover, goods came to Oman on a continuing basis, without notable increases in prices. In addition, our large quantities of basic commodities in storage helped to cushion the impact. The market in the Sultanate remained stable and under total control.

Therefore, we can say that while there were no appreciable positive effects in the Sultanate stemming from its location far from the center of danger, neither were there appreciable negative effects from the economic standpoint as a result of the war.

Privatization Now

[Hashish] With regard to domestic issues, the matter of the government selling off a portion of its shares in public companies to the private sector has been proposed. This has not yet happened. Do you think that this matter should be postponed even longer, or has the time come to do this?

[Sultan] In fact, there has been a postponement of this matter, probably due to extended studies which have been conducted on the best way to implement the project, and the nature of the companies whose government shares will be sold to the private sector. However, I believe that the time has come for 'privatization.' The climate is completely right for that. The government has a number of successful projects, and a government decision has been made to transfer the property of these

projects to the private sector. Moreover, there are investors ready to invest in this area.

[Hashish] Of what kinds of companies will the government sell its shares?

[Sultan] The studies are looking into the fact that there are projects that are incompatible with privatization. They will remain in government hands. Examples are radio and telegraph communications, electricity and water companies, etc. There are other public companies that, more than others, are candidates for sale, such as hotels, fisheries, mills, etc. I think that this process will begin before the end of the year.

[Hashish] What is the method by which property will be transferred to the private sector?

[Sultan] There are several ways. The first method is to sell public company shares through the Muscat securities market directly to investors who wish to buy. A second way would be to create a public holding company that could purchase governmental stock as an investment company whose shares would be put up for public subscription to citizens.

A third method is for the founders of this company to have 60 percent membership in a group of public corporations, while the remaining shares are put up for public subscription. Still a fourth way would be that, for each totally government-owned company, there would be another public corporation to which ownership could be transferred, with 40 percent of its shares for public subscription and 60 percent for the founders, among whom might be other public corporations. The choice of method will be according to the nature of the project, as to which would be appropriate and which would achieve maximum success at transferring property from the government.

[Hashish] What about the issue of Omanization? Can it dispense with imported labor?

[Sultan] I don't think a time will come when we can say we don't need experts, qualified workers, teachers, doctors, etc. There will always be a need. This happens in most countries, as long as there is development and growth. But, a problem occurs when 70 percent of labor is imported, while only 20 or 30 percent is native. This is a danger that must be reversed.

Suffice it to say that the number of Omani companies registered in 1989 was approximately 38,000. This number rose in 1990 to 42,000 companies. By increasing the number of companies, there is a natural increase in numbers of employees. However, the percentage of Omanization must be higher. Therefore, there is absolutely no intention to drive out foreigners. If we look at statistics, we will note that there is an increase in the numbers of imported labor. In 1985, there were around 280,000 imported workers, while in 1986 and 1988, the number dropped because of economic stagnation. In

1990, the number rose to 300,000. Statistics prove that imported labor exists, and that general growth in the Sultanate is rapid.

[Hashish] Commercial banks have refrained from offering loans because of debts. How much have banks lost as a result of bad debts?

[Sultan] I don't have precise figures, but bad debts might reach 40 million Omani riyals (\$104 million). However, conditions improved in 1990, and leases began to go up as a result of the return of foreign workers, the increase in numbers of companies, and the demand for labor. According to present studies, there will be an increased demand for real estate in the near term. More projects have begun to restore the balance between supply and increased demand for housing units.

Contrasting Industrial Incentives

[Hashish] With respect to industry, it has been noted that Gulf industries are obtaining bigger incentives than their counterparts in Oman, which creates difficulties for marketing similar Omani products, or importing similar products into the Sultanate. What is your position vis-a-vis this disparity in incentives?

[Sultan] This is a big problem. There are obvious disparities in the incentive levels that each Gulf state gives to its industries, but the big gap that did exist has lessened now significantly because of new incentives that the government is offering the private sector, including privatizing 50 percent of the lease on lands allocated for industrial purposes, and other incentives that are currently being studied to finance and subsidize Omani exports abroad, in which the government returns a percentage of the exported product's value to the project owner, ranging between 10 and 20 percent, in order to lower his prices and be competitive with other products with lower prices. In addition, other efforts are being made to grant more incentives to Omani manufacturers and close the gap between Omani and Gulf incentives.

[Hashish] Are these efforts within the framework of the Unified Economic Agreement?

[Sultan] Oman has also asked the GCC states to reduce the rates of incentives being given to the private sector, because the spirit of the economic agreement includes the obligation not to have vast disparities in incentives granted by the states. Efforts, therefore, are underway in two directions: the first, to raise the level of incentives in Oman; and the second, to try to create conformity in this level between the Sultanate and the GCC states.

[Hashish] It has been noted that there is great similarity in types of goods produced in every Gulf state, which represents a difficulty in marketing these goods in the other states. How do you see this issue, in light of the direction in which the GCC is trying to go toward economic integration?

[Sultan] This is another difficult problem, because there is economic integration alongside this duplication in products. It was assumed that the Gulf Organization for Industrial Investment would play a greater role with regard to coordination with Gulf governments, so that no license for any major project in any country would be granted, except after review and coordination with that organization, which would have data about industrial projects in the Gulf.

Bank Mergers

[Hashish] A few weeks ago, the Omani Central Bank proposed the idea of merging national banks. However, the chamber did not have a clear role vis-a-vis this issue. Why?

[Sultan] The chamber intervened. The chamber's banking committee discussed this matter. I also had some contacts with the Central Bank about this same subject. The fact of the matter is that Omani bank capital is limited to such an extent that the largest Omani bank—the Omani National Bank—has a capitalization of 18 million Omani riyals. This does not give it much opportunity to pursue notable activity in banking circles. On the other hand, we don't need a large number of banks; we do need a smaller number and greater volume. The only solution is merger or for a larger bank to buy out a smaller bank, because small banks cannot finance major projects. Therefore, we are forced to resort to stronger banks abroad to finance our projects. There is also a decision by the Basle Committee to increase the 'bank's solvency,' so that it can fulfill its obligations. Therefore, we say that merger has become a necessity.

[Hashish] There are some opinions to the effect that increasing the banks' solvency will only amount to the Central Bank issuing a decree raising local banks' capital to a specific percentage that might exceed 15 million riyals, since the banks will not succeed in reducing foreign shareholders.

[Sultan] The situation might, in fact, lead to that. Perhaps this decision will contribute to resolving the problem of reducing the shareholdings of the foreign partner. Despite the fact that we are for increasing the Omanis' share, I don't see the elimination of the foreign partner, however. We need foreign investment.

Rebuilding Kuwait

[Hashish] How do you explain the Gulf contractor's lost opportunity for effective and influential participation in rebuilding Kuwait after the liberation?

[Sultan] I don't think the opportunity has been lost, especially after the Kuwaiti government announced that Gulf companies registered in Kuwait would be considered the same as Kuwaiti companies. The problem lies in the very large operations, which American companies have obtained, because they are specialized operations like extinguishing oil well fires, or harbor projects, etc. There are no Gulf companies specializing in these fields.

In my opinion, there are some opportunities in small- and medium-size projects, but the field has now become limited.

Bank Profits Off 20 Percent in 1990

91AE0599A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
24 Aug 91 p 11

[Article by 'Isam Hashish]

[Text] Total Omani commercial bank assets and stocks during the 12-month period ending last March increased by 11 percent, reaching 1,499.7 million Omani riyals (\$3,899.2 million).

An official statement issued by the Omani Central Bank says that despite this increase, commercial banks' gross profits were off by 20 percent, dropping from 16.1 million riyals (\$41.8 million) in 1989 to 12.9 million riyals in 1990.

The report attributes this drop to the 22 percent decrease in local banks' gross profits, reaching 10.8 million riyals, and the drop in foreign banks' gross profits by 6 percent, to 2.1 million riyals.

The report points out that commercial banks' net profits came under increasing pressure during the past years due to deduction of allocations for bad and questionable debts, which totalled 10.7 million riyals in 1988, 15.3 million riyals in 1989, and 10.2 million riyals in 1990.

With regard to the increase in total assets and stocks of commercial banks, which totalled more than 11 percent in the year preceding last March, the report confirms that the reasons are due to a clear increase in lending funds for the private sector and the public institutes by 104.2 million riyals, that is, by 12.2 percent. The increase in the fund for public sector lending was due to a basic increase in the personal lending clause. With regard to government lending funds, including short-term loans in the form of treasury notes, which usually represent the major part of such lending, they increased by 55.3 million riyals, totalling 80.2 million riyals at the end of March 1991.

With regard to liabilities, the report says that there is an increase in government deposits with commercial banks totalling 34.9 million riyals. It went up from 97.7 riyals to 31.8 million riyals [figures as published], while public institutions' deposits showed a decrease by 3.8 million riyals, dropping from 68.5 million riyals to 64.7 million riyals. The private sector deposits with those banks increased from 837.4 million riyals to 913.9 million riyals (9.1 percent). The increase is attributed to an increase in all types of deposits.

The report notes that on-demand deposits have increased by 17.1 million riyals (9.7 percent) and saving deposits by 23.1 million riyals, while term deposits have increased by 36.3 million riyals (7.7 percent).

The report also notes that during the year ending last March, currency circulation in the narrow sense increased by 11.4 percent and in the broad sense by 10.1 percent. The increasing local money liquidity is attributed to an increase in the net foreign assets and the increase in lending funds for the private sector, which were partially limited by the government deposits in the banking sector.

QATAR

Bank Manager Says Financial Climate Returns to Normal

91AE0597A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
24 Aug p 11

[Text] Doha—Qatari banks' performance has improved and is continuing to improve following the liberation of Kuwait. Things are proceeding normally and the banking situation returned to the state it was in prior to August 1990.

This came in a statement by Maqbul Habib, general manager of Doha Bank, Ltd. He said that during the invasion, the industrial and commercial sectors were in a state of wait-and-see. But activities were resumed following the liberation, and import activities were restored to the level they were prior to the invasion, in both essential commodities and luxury goods. Opening of letters of credit has also increased.

The Doha Bank general manager said that national banks are contributing to activating the Qatari economy by granting loans and providing facilities to any project that may need financing, after the project is studied and adequate financing guarantees are obtained.

Maqbul Habib said that banks carry out transfers of government revenues; payment transfers are made directly to banks. This is because of the businessman's credibility and the banks' trust in him. Personal loans are also issued to employees and to state institutions, which eventually leads to stimulating the commercial sector.

Maqbul Habib stated that when such loans are issued, adequate guarantees are requested so that the bank will ensure its equity before issuing any loans. This is in addition to ensuring some loan collateral to safeguard the bank's equity in case the project falters.

The Doha Bank general manager said the banks are now inclined toward financing industrial projects, particularly small projects, since there are more commercial projects than the country needs, despite the fact that risk in industrial projects, whether small or large, is higher than in commercial projects.

Speaking about depositors' guarantees, Maqbul Habib said the banking system in Qatar is good. Moreover, periodic oversight is maintained by the Qatari Monetary Fund, plus certain directives which the banks should comply with. Moreover, banks keep some of their

deposits with the Qatari Monetary Fund as a reserve to deal with any emergency which any bank might face, just as had happened during the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. He said the Qatari banks were able to endure and to stay in control despite the huge withdrawals by some businessmen, institutions, and individuals. The governor of the Qatari Monetary Fund then confirmed that the fund will stand with the banks in case of any emergency, he added.

SUDAN

Reaction to World Bank Mission Closure

91AA0606A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
18 Aug 91 p 9

[Article by Salah 'Abd-al-Rahim al-Amin]

[Excerpt] The World Bank has officially informed Sudan of its decision to close its office in Khartoum "by the end of next December at the latest." This decision came as the result of the deteriorating relations between Khartoum and international monetary establishments after it stopped servicing its debt to the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund [IMF]. This is in addition to foreign debts of more than \$13 billion, which Khartoum stopped servicing years ago. AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT has learned that the World Bank office might be closed before the latest date, perhaps even next month.

At the end of 1990, the IMF proclaimed Sudan a "non-cooperative state". That proclamation was tantamount to a "red light" to the flow of aid, and a clear indication to other international organizations, including the World Bank, which coordinates its aid with the IMF, to stop their aid and services to Sudan. An official source at office of the World Bank's mission in Khartoum told AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT that this decision means a halt to granting Sudan any new loans, but it will not affect loans to about 20 ongoing projects for which the bank offered about \$475 million, but so far has withdrawn about half of that.

He explained that there is a loan of \$25 million, which the bank at first agreed to offer to Sudan for a project to combat the drought, but this loan has not yet been given final approval by the board of directors of the bank's International Development Agency [IDA], which means that it is possible that it will also be stopped.

The source mentioned that the closure of the World Bank mission in Sudan, the largest country in the Arab world and Africa, does not mean that the bank is withdrawing for good, but it will "doubtlessly affect the implementation of projects which the bank is financing in the country with respect to providing financing, expertise, equipment, and other forms of technical assistance."

On the other hand, a responsible source in the Ministry of Finance and Planning in Khartoum told AL-SHARQ

AL-AWSAT that the World Bank's decision amounts to "reducing" the size of its presence in Sudan, not "ending" it. He said, "There are contacts between us and the bank in this regard that are still going on, and we hope that they will lead to the decision being withdrawn and the continuation of the bank's activity as before."

The Sudanese source indicated that Sudan had "continued to meet its financial obligations to the bank, but had stopped a while ago because of the economic difficulties which the country was going through, namely the upsetting of the foreign balance as a result of the increase in oil prices; the effects of the Gulf War, especially the drop in remittances from Sudanese expatriates; and the flood of hundreds of thousands of refugees from neighboring countries. Then there is the civil war in the south, which drains about one million dollars a day from the public treasury, and the flow of 7 million emigrants from the country to the cities as a consequence of this war and the circumstances of drought and desertification. This is in addition to the burden of about \$13 billion in foreign debts."

Officials in the Sudan say that the importance of aid from the World Bank lies in its role as a coordinator for attracting international aid, since many states are encouraged to offer financing to states with which it deals. This is because the bank vouches for the soundness of their economies, represented in the IMF's certificate [of soundness]. Also, aid from the World Bank, and especially the IDA, offers easy terms on long-term loans, which is vital for a developing country such as Sudan, now suffering from serious economic problems and from the drying up of the flow of capital, including the remittances of Sudanese living abroad.

Informed sources added that Sudan would face many problems if some of the other international bodies and organizations decided to close their offices or limit their activities in it. [passage omitted]

NIF Purges Army, Diplomatic Corps

Major Shakeup in Officer Ranks

91AA0619A Cairo AL-SUDAN in Arabic 1 Aug 91 p 2

[Communique by Gen. Fathi Ahmad 'Ali; place, date not given: "Press Communique by the Legitimate Command Organization of the Armed Forces"]

[Text] The [National] Islamic Front [NIF] gang that is stifling the Sudanese people has recently retired seven senior officers of the rank of Major General, then retired six more of the rank of Brigadier General. The regime has earmarked 378 officers of various ranks for removal from the service, but has decided to begin with only 66, lest the summary removal of such a large number cause discontent and grumbling in the Armed Forces ranks and in the Sudanese street, which itself has not been safe from far-reaching, constant purges.

This measure is another step in the drive to purge the Armed Forces of patriotic elements and replace them with NIF supporters in an effort to prop up its floundering rule.

The new list of retirees brings to 1,567 the number of officers of various ranks who have so far been retired since 30 June 1989. Of those officers, 28 were executed and 163 were detained under harsh conditions for periods of more than one year. Twenty-four others were sentenced to assorted prison terms.

While the regime works unrelentingly to drain the Armed Forces of patriotic and honest elements, it is actively recruiting its supporters for the Military Academy. So far, 680 cadets have been recruited, all of them members of the "al-Bana' Youth," a political youth auxiliary of the NIF. Also recruited were relatives and acquaintances of NIF leaders. A class of more than 300 cadets is expected to graduate in the next few weeks, and the new officers will be assigned to various military units in order to reinforce the NIF presence in the north of the country.

Meanwhile, distrusted officers are being transferred to the South, where the civil war purgatory has been raging for eight years. [They will be kept there] until they are discharged, unless first consumed by the war.

It behooves us to mention here that the Sudanese Armed Forces have lately suffered grave losses of life and armament, and all we can do about it is pray for mercy for the souls of those sacrificed on the altar of NIF ambitions. The NIF stands as the only obstacle to peace and to sparing the blood of the sons of the unified homeland.

NIF regime policies towards the Sudanese Armed Forces seek no objective but to destroy them in favor of religious forces. This poses considerable danger not only to the Sudanese people, but also to all peoples of the region. The latter are well aware of that.

The Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces reiterates the warning it sounded a year ago. It calls upon the Sudanese people and all the peoples of the region to stand in solidarity in order to eradicate this mounting danger. It must be recognized by all that the risk to the security of the region and of the Sudanese people increases with every day that regime spends in power. The Sudanese people, with the student movement in the vanguard, has been unhesitatingly making sacrifices in order to topple that regime.

The Legitimate Command of the Armed Forces wishes to point out that the current regime's atrocities do not stop at terror, tyranny, and oppression. None of its economic or social policies are formulated to serve the citizenry—rather, they all are makeshift and improvised. They have proven to be so short-sighted that the regime had to backtrack more than once. There is ample proof

in the currency change issue, which proved to be egocentrically motivated to serve only the interests of the NIF's merchants and brokers.

The regime—because it is cognizant of its successive setbacks and the constant failures of its domestic and foreign policies, and because it knows that it will lose control sooner or later—has been dedicating itself to smuggling funds abroad by various means.

The Legitimate Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces [recognizes] that the entire Sudanese people, rural and urban, has clearly rejected that fascist regime and is quite convinced of its lies and its failings. The Command urges the Sudanese people to wait no longer, but to proceed with valor and determination to uproot the regime.

The Command emphasizes that the Armed Forces will have primary charge and responsibility for freeing our people from tyranny, and that the main burden in that regard will be carried by its sons in the Armed Forces, which remains a bulwark to the people in times of crisis.

The Legitimate Command wishes to warn our masses that no external help will be forthcoming to loosen the yoke imposed upon them by some of their number. All efforts must be consolidated and coordinated and all means and ways must be dedicated to ending this nightmare.

The proper and optimum substitute for such a tyrannical and despotic regime remains a just system based on freedom and equality, to be carried out by honest men known among the Sudanese people for their passion and integrity in the discharge of their duties.

The National Democratic Coalition has spared no effort in formulating such a substitute that would steer us all to a safe haven without turning our country into anyone's protectorate. We are confident that control of the Sudan will be returned to all its sons no matter what their orientation, religion, or color.

Ambassadors Replaced

91AA0619B Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 11 Aug 91 p 6

[Article: "The Front Promulgates Peace Rumors To Cover Up Purges of Patriotic Elements in Civil Service"]

[Excerpt] Political circles in Khartoum emphasized that rumors of negotiations with the opposition have been mongered by elements of the [National Islamic] Front [NIF] in order to draw attention away from daily purges of patriotic elements in the civil service, the Armed Forces, and the security apparatus.

"Another massacre" took place at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Khartoum last week and involved 12 senior ambassadors. The action followed the appointment of 15 NIF elements to 15 embassies as deputy chiefs of mission usually responsible for political affairs. Among the purged ambassadors, Nurayn Sadiq Khalil

and 'Abd-al-Mun'im Mustafa were terminated. Mirghani Sulayman, Faruq Mustafa, and 'Abd-al-Majid al-Ahmadi were retired. Lawrence Tombi, Ibrahim Hamzah, al-Rashid Abu-Shamah, ['Ali Yas Qayli], 'Umar al-'Ali, Mirghani Hadith, and Ahmad Yusuf al-Tani were recalled to Khartoum. [passage omitted].

New Laws, Legal Procedures Implemented

Civil Defense Law

91AA0626A Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI in Arabic 28 Jul 91 p 1

[Report by Husayn 'Uthman]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Foreign Minister Sahlul stated that the cabinet approved the draft Civil Defense Law of 1991, which is intended to create a national civil defense agency to protect citizens from the effects of wars and disasters and to protect the country's resources and production projects. He also explained the method for seizing private and public property for civil defense purposes in the event of a disaster, the declaration of a state of emergency in the country, and the operating method of several essential official agencies. Pursuant to this law, a high council for the administration of civil defense operations will be established to coordinate and mobilize the resources needed to cope with emergencies which the country might face. [passage omitted]

Stronger Hand for Prosecution

91AA0626B Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI in Arabic 5 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by Muhammad al-Fatih]

[Text] A criminal procedures law has been drafted and will be submitted for approval in its final form to the cabinet.

According to statements made to the press by 'Ali Muhammad Yas, who is a representative of the public prosecutor's office, the law is considered a major achievement and a legal revolution in the area of extending justice throughout society.

'Ali Muhammad Yas stated that the law's most important characteristic is that it gives the public prosecutor the authority to investigate and to appeal decisions to the senior chief prosecutor before appealing them to the judiciary.

The draft law defines the jurisdiction of the public prosecution's authorities, increases the importance of its role, and grants it guardianship over persons lacking a legal guardian.

It also provides for dropping of a criminal case by force of a defendant's death before the issuance of a verdict, and by force of a statute of limitations.

Yas stated that the draft law, for the first time, disqualifies a public prosecutor in a given case who has a connection or interest in that case. It also restricts the public prosecutor's authority regarding the obstruction of proceedings pertaining to border crimes, sentencing, and crimes against a personal right.

The law requires representatives of the public prosecutor's offices to inspect jails daily, and it stipulates special treatment and guarantees for arrestees.

The law prohibits the bodily and psychological harming of arrestees and requires that they be given medical treatment and dignified work.

The law introduces the authority of the public prosecutor's office and the court to place a defendant under police observation instead of under guard.

High Court Applies Shari'ah

91AA0626C Khartoum AL-INQADH AL-WATANI
in Arabic 1 Aug 91 p 1

[Report by 'Abd-al-Mun'im Qutbi]

[Text] The High Court, presided over by the Honorable Yusuf Ahmad al-'Ubayd, the resident magistrate at the North Khartoum Court, and members of the court, Judge ['Aydus] 'Abdallah and Judge 'Abdallah Ahmad 'Abdallah, issued a ruling to drop charges against defendant Muhammad Ibrahim 'Abduh [Kabaj] and to release him immediately.

The charge against the defendant stems from the discovery of documents containing articles and publications which the defendant admitted having in his possession. Original evidence was available to try him under Article 50 of the Criminal Law of 1991, according to the testimony of the legal advisor of the state security agency. The defendant admitted to being a party to the writing and preparation of the said documents, and he testified that they express a certain opinion on the economic policy, freedoms, and the country's destiny in general. He added that they are based on governmental statistics issued by the state. He denied distributing publications.

The venerable court's decision mentioned Article 2.4 of the Islamic Criminal Law of 1991, which stipulates the application of the most suitable law to a defendant if a final judgment regarding the defendant's crime has not been issued, even if the crime was committed in violation of the abrogated Law of 1983.

In addition, the Islamic Criminal Law of 1991 discards the expanded provisions regarding political incrimination. It also puts into effect a broad amendment in favor of freedom regarding political crimes against the state, and it discards articles whose content is loose, imprecise, and incompatible with the well-defined nature of criminal laws and the principle of legality.

Also, Article 96 of the abrogated law has no counterpart in the Islamic Criminal Law of 1991. The defendant benefitted from the leniency of the Islamic Criminal Law of 1991, which is derived from the Islamic canonical law [shari'ah], inasmuch as the venerable court decided to drop the charges against the defendant and release him immediately.

It is worth mentioning that the sessions of the court, which began on 14 July 1991 and ended on 25 July 1991, were followed by officials and enjoyed their concern. Those present in the court applauded the fairness of the judgment following its pronouncement. An additional note: AL-INQADH AL-WATANI has learned that the defendant benefitted previously from a decision made by the commander of the revolution to release political prisoners.

Commodity Shortages, Controls Reported

Gasoline Lines Form

91AA0609A Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 11 Aug 91 p 6

[Text] Reports from Sudan state that Khartoum continues to experience a severe fuel shortage which began more than two weeks ago. Persons arriving from Sudan told AL-ISHQA' that private cars are absent from Khartoum's streets, and lines are no longer forming at the gas stations, which have run out of fuel. Well-informed Sudanese sources state that the government of an Arab country neighboring Sudan has stopped supplying Sudan with fuel, after having done so at no cost.

Bakeries Monitored

91AA0609B Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH
in Arabic 27 Jul 91 p 1

[Text] Colonel Yusuf 'Abd-al-Fattah, the deputy governor of Khartoum Province and the finance, commerce and supply minister, emphasized that severe penalties will be imposed on all bakeries that violate orders and directives. He told AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH that these penalties might entail the revocation of licenses and the trying of owners of bakeries that violate orders and directives by the deterrent courts. He indicated that he noted, during a surprise tour of bakeries in different regions, clear violations regarding the weight and quality of bread, environmental pollution, and the disregard of orders and directives. He stressed that measures have been taken against the bakeries where violations were observed.

Col. Yusuf directed bakery owners to improve performance, and he indicated that surprise visits will continue to be made to pinpoint shortcomings.

Government Offers Soap

91AA0609C Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH
in Arabic 25 Jul 91 p 1

[Text] The Commerce, Cooperation, and Supply Ministry has decided to offer large quantities of commercial

washing soap at a price of 20 Sudanese pounds per 450-gram unit, which is three times the size of the ordinary soap that is distributed through the supply channels.

This was announced by Mr. al-Kindi Yusuf, the deputy for internal commerce and supply, who stated that the quantities to be offered will fully remedy the soap shortage. He indicated that pertinent agencies in the provinces were directed yesterday to take legal measures against any merchant who offers this type of soap at more than the designated price.

He indicated that no factory will be permitted to distribute soap in its possession without informing the Industry Ministry of the quantities at its disposal to ensure that these quantities are subject to controls.

Mr. al-Kindi indicated that large quantities of fat and caustic soda have been allotted to the soap factories. These materials are now being transported from Port Sudan.

Medicine Shortage

91AA0609D Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH
in Arabic 22 Jul 91 p 2

[Text] The first deputy of the Health Ministry, Khayri 'Abd-al-Rahman, emphasized that his ministry is making intensive efforts with pertinent agencies to supply medicine. In a statement to the press, he said that only the establishment of a pharmaceutical industry can provide a fundamental solution to the medicine shortages that occur from time to time.

He stated that the medicine policy is successful and does not need to be changed. He expects the situation to improve greatly with time. In this regard, he indicated that procedures pertaining to bids for the deferred-payment importation of \$10 million worth of medicine have been concluded and are now being implemented.

He added that, tomorrow, a ministerial delegation will visit the hospitals of Kosti, al-Jabalayn, al-Jazirah, and Ibba to study their conditions and recommend suitable solutions to their problems.

Dr. Khayri stated that his ministry encourages investment in private hospitals if such investment is in compliance with regulations and laws.

He indicated that a proposal to establish an engineering unit to supervise maintenance at the hospitals has been submitted to the cabinet for a decision.

More Produce Needed

91AA0609E Khartoum AL-SUDAN AL-HADITH
in Arabic 18 Jul 91 p 2

[Text] Colonel Sadiq Muhammad Ahmad, the deputy chairman of the Higher Committee for Production and Marketing, promised efforts to solve all problems impeding the cultivation of fruits and vegetables in the

[Shambat] area, in order to increase production in the area so that it can be a major supplier of the needs of Khartoum Province.

He made these remarks in a meeting yesterday with a delegation of farmers from Shambat, whom he praised for their decision to deliver all of their produce to the Higher Committee for Production and Marketing and for their support of the committee.

UNITED ARAB EMIRATES

President's Wife Discusses Women's Movement, Progress

91AE0578A London AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT in Arabic
6 Aug 91 p 17

[Interview with Fatimah Bint-Mubarak; place and date not given: "Danger Brought Out Best in Our Daughters"]

[Excerpts] The feminist movement in the U.A.E. [United Arab Emirates] is playing an important role in the comprehensive development process. This is due to the care and attention this movement is getting from United Arab Emirates President Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan al-Nuhayyan and his wife, Fatimah Bint-Mubarak.

Fatimah Bint-Mubarak, the wife of Shaykh Zayid, talked to AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT about the accomplishments realized and the role played by the U.A.E. women during the development process they have lived through in the last quarter-century, dealing at first with the development of the feminist movement during Shaykh Zayid's reign and the accomplishments it realized in the previous stage. She said:

"The feminist movement in our country is one major manifestation our society has experienced in moving to the modern age. As the features of economic, social, and cultural life in our country underwent a rapid change, and as we took upon ourselves the responsibility of advancing our country, we became convinced that women had a prominent role to play in this process, and that their role was contingent on giving them the proper chance to do so after appropriate preparations.

"This conviction was made public early on by Shaykh Zayid Bin-Sultan al-Nuhayyan, thus sparking feminist action in February 1973, the birthdate of the Abu Dhabi Feminist Awakening Association that was the first feminist grouping on this good land. During a long journey of serious work and sacrifice, the feminist movement in our country grew and developed.

"At one point, our main objective was to convince women in our country how valuable and important it was to join this movement, and of the personal and familial benefits they would reap. At another point, our objective was to raise feminist human and personal awareness, and at a third point, this objective grew to

include efforts to persuade women how important their contributions were in building a new life requiring everyone's participation. At this point, there were many immediate and practical objectives that we felt were the only way to reach women. These objectives included mandatory education of women, elimination of adult illiteracy, the introduction of evening classes for women to raise their academic standard, and the implementation of a comprehensive cultural activity plan to advance the feminist cause, while implementing an integrated child-care program and setting up nursery schools throughout the nation under the auspices of the women's federation.

"Suffice it to say in this context that the creation of the Women's Federation back in August 1975, was a major development; that the declaration of the year 1988 as the year of elimination of female illiteracy was a major leap in performance, accomplishments, and future visions; and that our honorable position in international circles means that Gulf women can now make their way to the international arena to present a shining image of Muslim Arab women. All these rapid images are a form of development in the feminist movement's performance in our country as well as images of many accomplishments realized by our feminist movement.

"Again, I reiterate my appeal to everyone to visit U.A.E. women at their place of work and visit girls' schools, universities, and places of work to see for themselves the tremendous accomplishments U.A.E. women have achieved. It is enough that we now have female engineers, doctors, nurses, teachers, computer programmers, undersecretaries, and workers everywhere. The greatest accomplishments of women are turning their forefathers' dreams into reality experienced by the grandchildren of both sexes."

Contribution to Development

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] How do you assess the role women are playing in public life and what kind of contributions are they making to the comprehensive development process?

[Bint-Mubarak] We cannot assess the role women are playing in public life in our country without comparing the past with the present. From this perspective, I can honestly say that I am proud of what has been achieved so far. The feminist role has been growing gradually because we sensed and we understood our special circumstances, and so the transition took place calmly and in stages: from appeal to the elimination of illiteracy to the propagation of education; and from the promotion of girls' education to their graduation from college to their contributions in the job market. Through these transitions, we continually sought to train women academically and professionally so that they may enjoy their full rights and exercise their role. A quick look around us shows that U.A.E. women have had an active hand in all our accomplishments. On the other side of contribution to public life—by that, I mean direct participation in

cultural and civilizational activities—U.A.E. women play an important role in public life through the Women's Federation and its associations by raising consciousness, propagating new ideas, and preaching the new society they want. There are also public welfare societies and literary, cultural, and educational societies—[passage omitted]

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What kind of relations exist between the U.A.E. Women's Federation and similar federations in the GCC? Do you believe that coordination among these federations is commensurate with the aspirations of Gulf women?

[Bint-Mubarak] [passage omitted] Our state took the first initiative in the region to unite feminist opinions and activities under a women's federation. Therefore, we sincerely hope that our federation is the cornerstone for building a Gulf women's federation with impact in the Arab and international arenas. We have great hope for more cohesion. [passages omitted] We have participated in many meetings and many conferences on the development and advancement of feminist action at the regional level. There is an Abu Dhabi-based committee for coordination and follow-up between the U.A.E. Women's Federation and women's associations in the Gulf countries.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What role did U.A.E. women play during the Gulf crisis and the war to liberate Kuwait? And, did that crisis help to polish and prepare U.A.E. women for a new role?

[Bint-Mubarak] The feminist role during this crisis underscored the validity and soundness of President Zayid Bin-Sultan al-Nahayyan's instinct when he personally took charge of developing and improving the status of women, seeking to make them legally competent citizens with full rights and duties, out of his conviction that a new society could not be built by neglecting half of it. Hence, his visions were confirmed, and we all saw with our own eyes how U.A.E. women hastened to fulfill their responsibilities under danger by coming forward and forming national defense battalions, nursing battalions, and civil defense battalions. Meanwhile, we cannot forget that the tens of thousands of our young men who answered the call to duty and rushed to enlistment centers had great mothers behind them. Danger brought out the best in our daughters and restored their true image: modern Arab women or girls who know what their responsibilities are. [passage omitted]

Child Care

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] Child care is one of the most significant concerns of the Women's Federation and the feminist awakening organizations in the country. What accomplishments have been realized in this area?

[Bint-Mubarak] [passage omitted] Visitors to our country can see how feminist organizations throughout the U.A.E. nurture kindergartens, nursery schools,

awareness-raising programs among mothers, and many health-care manifestations. But the project that stands out is the Zayid health education program that was started in 1984 as a joint experiment between UNICEF, the Ministry of Health, and the Dubai Feminist Awakening Association's various chapters. In it, a committee was formed to draw up a plan aimed at providing model prenatal care for pregnant women, educating mothers on the importance of breast-feeding and child nutrition up to weaning, and combatting diarrhea and stressing the importance of vaccination and a healthy environment around infants rather than limiting concern to personal hygiene.[passages omitted]

Women and Heritage

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] The revival of heritage and handicrafts is one area in which the Women's Federation took an interest. What kind of contributions did women make in this field, and what are your future plans in this regard?

[Bint-Mubarak] [passage omitted] We are a society quick to adopt state-of-the-art technology and progress. During this accomplishment, it was necessary to preserve our deep-rooted past, but this cannot be done without paying attention to our heritage in its various forms, including handicrafts. To be honest, one cannot discuss and preserve heritage in our country without discussing the feminine role in this regard. We became aware of this fact when we established the Women's Federation. In our country, women are actually the ones who are preserving our heritage and our popular legacy of customs, traditions, and crafts. Women in our country used to hand down these crafts from mother to daughter. We became aware of this early on, and so the Women's Federation and the feminist associations nationwide sought to promote and preserve our heritage to save it from obliteration during the rapid transformation journey we are now experiencing. We have set up many exhibits and have encouraged women to practice these crafts. The largest project, however, was the construction of an environmental and handicraft industries center at the Women's Federation, which is one of the national projects in Abu Dhabi. Over the years, this center has successfully trained hundreds of women in handicrafts and traditional arts skills. Also, a permanent exhibit has been set up at the center, which includes ten theme pavilions, in addition to an Arab cuisine pavilion where Gulf ladies offer their expertise in cooking famous Gulf dishes. The center also includes literacy courses for female workers and a permanent market for their products. The president has asked the patrons of our heritage to always upgrade their work and develop our national fashion industry without compromising its special features. A factory will be built to mass produce such apparel as one feature of our heritage for all the world to see.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What role is the Women's Federation playing in the U.A.E. toward the amendment or enactment of legislation that would guarantee women's rights commensurate with their ambitions?

[Bint-Mubarak] All legal provisions in our united country are drawn from Islamic law [shari'ah] and Arab civilizational principles, within the fact that Islam honors women, protects their rights, and defines their duties. In the U.A.E., women enjoy full legal capacity and the right to ownership, to trade, to manage, and to choose a profession. Labor laws in our country accord women equal rights in wages and promotions, enough guarantees to protect them, and extensive benefits in cases of pregnancy, delivery, and nursing. This is in addition to a large social security umbrella that provides the necessary level of material security for divorced and widowed women, as well as for other emergency situations. We have at least 12 social services centers nationwide. Furthermore, the U.A.E. Women's Federation takes an active role in debating laws and amendments pertaining to female interests. In my opinion, the problem lies not in good provisions, but rather in women being aware of their rights and their ability to exercise them. This is what the Women's Federation is seeking to achieve through comprehensive awareness, educational, and cultural programs in urban and rural areas. On the other hand, a personal statute law shall soon be enacted to provide for various human rights for women, and the Women's Federation is playing a major role in passing it in the desired form.

[AL-SHARQ AL-AWSAT] What key projects are you planning now or in the near future to take care of women and consolidate their ties with their sisters in the GCC or the Arab countries?

[Bint-Mubarak] We are very optimistic about opportunities for cooperation between the U.A.E. and its sisters in the GCC and other Arab countries. We went through some difficult times during the aggression against Kuwait, and we clearly realized how important unity and cooperation among the Arab peoples of the Gulf were a basic step toward cooperation with the other Arab peoples. At the same time, we believe in the importance of opening bridges of cooperation between our women and their sisters in the region because we share the same reality, the same circumstances, and the same values and traditions. We must exchange expertise and forms of cooperation. At the same time, we are waiting for the Arab League to lend its support to the feminist movement at the Arab level as part of its endeavors to raise the standard of Arab women, to improve their living conditions, and to further their rights via a women's committee in charge of advancing feminist causes and status in the Arab world. I believe this will be realized soon.

AFGHANISTAN

Tomsen's Assertions on Afghan Solution Refuted

91AS1435A Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English
6 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Text reproduced as published]

[Text] BIA—In reply to a question by the BIA on the recent assertions of Peter Tomsen, the U.S. envoy to the Afghan opposition, a spokesman of the Foreign Ministry of Afghanistan noted:

In an interview to the Voice of America, Tomsen had recently said as if the United States and the Soviet Union had been holding talks on Afghanistan for more than two years now, but so far they had achieved no progress in this regard.

In his assertions, Mr. Tomsen had spoken of political solution on the one hand and at same time, presenting contradictory views lays stress on keeping on further military pressure in areas such as Khwajaghar, Zebak, Eshkashem and Rustaq.

No results could be drawn from such contradictory assertions, as Mr. Tomsen is for what sort of political solution to be mixed with stress on military pressure under such favourable international conditions and atmosphere for the political solution.

Under conditions when at the recent meeting of the leaders of the two big powers, President George Bush recalled the good pattern of the U.S.-Soviet cooperation towards the solution of regional disputes, including the questions of Cambodia and Afghanistan and the growing tendency towards negotiations and the political settlement of the Afghan issue is getting strong, assertions like those by Mr. Tomsen are against the new movement towards the establishment of peace in Afghanistan and the realities relating to it. On the other hand, the recent stand taken by Peter Tomsen is in gross contradiction with the official stand of the United States, set forth some times back by the Foreign Ministry officials of that country in Foreign Relations Committee of the U.S. Congress.

In such a situation, it should be noted that by expressing his views, Peter Tomsen wants to encourage the opposition, the extremist forces in particular, for the intensification of war, and to give them combat spirit.

Cooperation Protocols Signed With Tajik-SSR

91AS1435F Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English
19 Aug 91 p 4

[Text] (BIA)—A protocol on economic, trade and cultural cooperation was signed and documents exchanged between the Republic of Afghanistan and the Tajik-SSR in the Ministry of Planning on Thursday.

BIA reported, on the basis of the protocol, there will be bilateral cooperation between Afghanistan and Tajikistan in agriculture, irrigation, electricity, light industries, foodstuffs, and commercial affairs as well as training of cadres and exchange of experts on the basis of mutual interest.

The protocol was signed by Ghulam Muhaiyuddin Shahbaz, Minister of Planning and by H.E. Laqim Qayoumov, Foreign Affairs Minister of Tajikistan Republic of the Soviet Union.

According to another report, a protocol on scientific cooperation was also signed between the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education and the Ministry of the Education of the Tajik-SSR in Kabul on Thursday.

The protocol was signed by Abdullah Espangar, Deputy of the Ministry of Higher and Vocational Education and Abdul Bashir Rashidov, Deputy Minister of Education of the Republic of Tajik-SSR.

Prospects for Afghan Solution Broad

91AS1435B Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English
19 Aug 91 p 3

[Text reproduced as published]

[Text] (BIA)—The supporters of Afghan Mujahideen groups have got sick of their inner-differences and have now begun taking themselves out of the Afghan war, writes CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR in a commentary on Afghanistan recently.

The commentary says that war seems to be ending in Afghanistan and the world looks upon it as ended, where as it does not seem ceased for the Afghans themselves.

The western diplomats are supporting the political solution of the Afghan question; the United States and Saudi Arabia have brought down their aid to the Afghan Mujahideen and the budget of the charity organizations seems to be finished. For us, only this has been left to make the Afghans convinced that the war is over any more and the concerned countries seek to get rid of it gradually. All the countries have supported the Afghanistan-related statement by the UN Secretary General. The United States that has decreased in the past months the aid of the Mujahideen groups has warned to virtually cut it by the next year. Unlike the past, Saudi Arabia is not that generous for the Afghan opposition groups either.

The article published in CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR continues that Gulbuddin Hekmatyar is one of the leaders of the Afghan opposition groups who does not enjoy any popularity among the people of Afghanistan and the Mujahideen. Pakistan, a supporter of Hekmatyar is covertly endeavouring to provide him a share in the power with the state of Afghanistan.

The correspondent has written that in the face of this situation, the political proceedings seem too vague, nor

the west is interested in the war in Afghanistan as the Afghan opposition are fighting each other without thinking about peace ever.

The reporter of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR writes that with the Mujahideen being happy with the victory in Khost, the western analysts have described the attack on Khost as a misfortune. Because it was for their domination over Khost that the Mujahideen fought each other on division of the booty and looted whatever they sighted in Khost.

According to the correspondent, the western intelligence officials in Peshawar believe that one could count upon the Mujahideen from 1979 to 1989 but they have discredited themselves now. The battle of Khost and its plunder by the Mujahideen and their bloody encounters on division of the booty have brought about a shame and embarrassment for them.

The correspondent emphasizes that all such acts made the people of Afghanistan to get fed up with Mujahideen in other parts of the country.

Now the Council of Mujahiddin Commanders has been formed which, according to an Afghan, has been designed only for receiving aid from the west. The victory of Khost could neither break the military deadlock nor could give rise to a political progress.

In Peshawar, the quarrel continues on the Afghan question. Though, the Foreign Ministry of Pakistan tries to look cooperative, ISI is still deeply involved in the Afghan question.

The correspondent of CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR concludes that according to a military analyst the Pakistani militarists are now well-aware that the game has finished and the Afghan question will get over this year.

Restrictions on Obtaining Visas Discussed

91AS1435E Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English
8 Aug 91 p 4

[Text] (BIA)—An unusual session of the Administrative Body of the House of Representatives was held yesterday morning presided over by Dr. Khalil Ahmad Abawi, Chairman of the House.

As decided earlier, Chairman of the Consulate Affairs of the Foreign Ministry took part in the session to present a report on measures taken to tackle the problems faced by the Afghan nationals in obtaining visa from missions of some foreign countries in Kabul.

After comprehensive evaluating the issue the session described the measures taken by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in this regard as insufficient and not responsive to the need of our compatriots who are travelling to the foreign countries, as per their constitution rights.

The session pointed out that considering the existing conditions in our country and the region, the possibilities for legal trips for our compatriots to some neighbouring countries are too limited.

Therefore, the Council of Ministers and Ministry of Foreign Affairs should exert all efforts for providing visa for Afghan nationals in the light of existing friendly relations and good neighbourly relations among Afghanistan and other countries.

Nonresident Ambassador Appointed to Namibia

91AS1435D Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English
7 Aug 91 p 2

[Text] Kabul, 7 Aug (BIA)—Sakhi Danishjou, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the RA [Republic of Afghanistan] to Zimbabwe has been appointed as non-resident ambassador of the RA to Namibia. He has presented his credentials to H.E. Nojoma, President of that country in a special ceremony recently.

Armed Forces Promotions Announced

91AS1437A Kabul THE KABUL TIMES in English
20 Aug 91 pp 1, 2

[Text] As per the decree of President Najibullah in appreciation of the meritorious services of the armed forces as regards defending the homeland and people, realization of the National Reconciliation policy, and on the occasion of the 72nd Independence anniversary of the country, promotion of the following officers has approved to one higher rank.

- To the rank of Lt General:

Maj General Gul Ahmad s/o Abdullah. Maj General Abdul Qayum s/o Khan Mohammad. Maj General Momand Khan s/o Firdouskhan. Maj General Abdul Khaliq s/o Ghulam Muhayuddin. Maj General Mohammad Rasoul Sardeh s/o Ghulam Haidar. Maj General Mohammad Tahir Khoshiwal s/o Khushdel.

- To the rank of Maj General:

Col Mohammad Tawfiqskandari s/o Mohammad Ibrahim. Col Mohammad Nasir s/o Khair Mohammad. Col Ghiasuddin s/o Hisamuddin. Col Aligul s/o Abdul Ghani. Col Abdul Satar s/o Qasimgul. Col Zuhraabgul s/o Abdul Khalil. Col Baba Mirza s/o Shahbaz. Col Mohammad Zarin s/o Abdul Karim. Col Mohammad Tahir s/o Abdul Karim. Col Ghulam Hassan s/o Ghulam Sakhi. Col Abdul Karim s/o Mohammad Sarwar. Col Ghulam Farouq s/o Ghulam Mohayuddin. Col Mohammad Atiq s/o Mohammad Hassan. Col Ghulam Naqshband s/o Mohammad Ghaus. Col Rahm Ali s/o Hussain Ali. Col Mohammad Salim s/o Shir Ahmad. Col Mohammad Hashim s/o Sultanjan. Col Mohammad Essa s/o Mohammad Osman. Col Mohammad Yousuf s/o Mirajan. Col Nissar Ahmad s/o Gul Ahmad. Col Aminullah s/o Masjidi. Col Miraqa Mahmoud s/o Mir

Moahmoud. Col Abdul Ziya s/o Abdul Zahi. Col Abdul Aziz s/o Sayed Aziz. Col Khadim Shah s/o Hamidullah. Col Mohammad Qadir s/o Mahbubkhan. Col Sayed Noorullah s/o Sayed Hashim. Col Nabijan s/o Wazirkhan. Col Mohammad Tahir s/o Mohammad Khan. Col Abdul Rahman s/o Abdul Karim.

BANGLADESH

Papers Report on OPEC Delegation's Visit

Arrival, Meeting 29 Jul

91AS1444A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 30 Jul 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Mr. Osama Faquin, chairman of OPEC Fund for International Development Monday assured Bangladesh of total support from the fund to take up development projects in the coming years, reports BSS.

Mr. Faquin who arrived in Dhaka on Monday for a 3-day visit leading a two member delegation of the fund said during their stay, they will make a thorough review of the progress of fund aided projects with government leaders and discuss needs of Bangladesh in which fund could contribute.

Dr. Y. Seyyid Abdulai, Executive Director of the Fund is accompanying the chairman.

Talking to newsmen at the airport, Mr. Faquin said the delegation was to express sympathy and support of the fund to Bangladesh Government and also to praise it for successful tackling of the situation arising out of the worst cyclone. Another purpose of the delegation is to sign an agreement for improvement of health sector, said the fund chairman, who is also the Deputy Finance Minister of Saudi Arabia.

Mr. Faquin is the first Chairman of OPEC Fund to visit Bangladesh. Bangladesh is one of the 91 countries in 4 continents that receive assistance from OPEC fund.

Official level talks between the two sides began Monday and an agreement for eight upazila health complexes will be signed today (Tuesday).

Since 1977 with the establishment of Bangladesh's relations with OPEC Fund, the country "received 181.33 million dollars of which nearly two thirds went to project and rest to commodity aid as soft term loan. Energy, road communication, education and health are the major areas where OPEC fund were used. [quotation marks as published]

Replying to a question Mr. Faquin said the fund is in good shape and only last month approved 10th lending programme with a total outlay of 400 million dollars for two years. Describing funds' relation with Bangladesh as "excellent," the chairman said despite difficulties Bangladesh kept its commitment to the fund.

Mr. Enam Ahmed Chowdhury, Secretary, Economic Relations Division who received the delegation appreciated OPEC fund for extending "string free, need-oriented and quality" assistance. Bangladesh would look forward for more cooperative relations with the fund, he added.

Grants for Suhrawardy Hospital

The 10 million dollar (about Taka 37 crore) Shaheed Shurawardy General Hospital Complex (phase 1) and Dhaka Dental College Project with assistance from OPEC Fund for International Development (OPECFID) will be taken up immediately for implementation.

This was decided at the official level meeting held in Dhaka on Monday between the OPECFID delegation and economic resources division. The two sides also decided to take up technical education project worth 6 million dollars (about Taka 19 crore), official sources said.

Mr. Osama Faquin, chairman of OPECFID led the fund side, while Mr. Enam Ahmed Chowdhury, Secretary of ERD [External RESources Division] led the home side in the talks that lasted more than an hour.

The meeting reviewed fund assisted on going projects, particularly, the technical education project, road rehabilitation project and trade line credit to Agrani Bank.

Discussions were also held for selection of projects for future assistance to Bangladesh. New projects proposed by Bangladesh to be considered by OPECFID for financing include school cum cyclone shelter buildings, National Institute of Kidney Disease, construction of urban road, import of fertilizers and Teesta Irrigation Project.

Bangladesh has so far received 181.33 million dollars from OPECFID under project assistance and commodity imports programme.

The two sides will sign an agreement today (Tuesday) for eight million dollars to set up health complexes in eight upazilas.

The visiting OPEC delegation, led by Mr. Osama Faquin, chairman, OPEC Fund for International Development, called ERD Secretary Enam Ahmed Chowdhury in Dhaka Monday.

The ERD secretary welcomed the delegation and expressed thanks for their visit to Bangladesh which he called most timely and appropriate, official sources said.

The OPECFID chairman said, his visit was aimed at expressing support and cooperation to the laudable development efforts initiated by the democratic government and Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia, sources added.

Meetings With Leaders

91AS1444B Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
31 Jul 91 pp 1,8

[Text] The OPEC Fund for International Development will provide assistance on priority basis for the implementation of the projects being undertaken by the present government, reports BSS.

The Fund Chairman, Mr. Osama Faquin, told this to Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia while he called on her at her Secretariat office.

Mr. Faquin assured the prime minister that his organisation would continue to support the development efforts of Bangladesh.

He said though the present government was new, its determination to achieve the goals of development and the confidence of the people it had earned during this short period manifests that the country had a bright future. He said with high morale of the people and commitment of the government the nation would be able to achieve the desired goals of prosperity.

Begum Zia said her government had identified primary education, health care and environment as priority sectors. The present government was attaching importance to maintaining balance in the environment, improving medicare system and expanding primary education.

The prime minister also conveyed her gratitude to King Fahd and people of Saudi Arabia for their hospitality during her recent visit to the kingdom and for the assurance to help Bangladesh in its development efforts.

Begum Zia sought cooperation from OPEC Fund for International Development to help establish increased facilities for treatment of kidney diseases in Bangladesh.

She also emphasised the need for international cooperation and assistance in setting up permanent cyclone shelters in the country's calamity-prone areas.

Mr. Faquin said his organisation would make efforts to help Bangladesh get more assistance from international bodies to set up permanent structure to protect development from being washed away by cyclone or tidal bore.

Economic Relations Division Secretary Enam Ahmed Chowdhury was also present on the occasion.

Finance and Planning Minister M. Saifur Rahman yesterday sought assistance and cooperation from the OPEC Fund for rebuilding and expansion of primary education in the country.

"We need more cooperation and assistance from our friendly countries and donor agencies" in education sector particularly the primary education which has been given topmost priority by the present democratic government, the finance minister told the visiting Chairman of the OPEC Fund Osama Faquin when the latter called on him at his office.

ERD [External Resources Division] Secretary Enam Ahmed Chowdhury and Director-General of OPEC Fund Dr. Y. Sayyid Abdulai were present during the meeting, official sources said.

They discussed various bilateral issues including the progress of the fund assisted projects in Bangladesh and prospect future programmes. The closure of the BCCI [Bank of Credit and Commerce International] also came up in their discussion.

Mr. Faquin who is also the deputy minister for finance of Saudi Arabia expressed satisfaction at the progress of fund assisted projects in Bangladesh. He also assured Bangladesh more and extensive assistance from OPEC Fund.

Unity Urged in Adoption of Parliamentary System

91AS1162A Dhaka SANGBAD in Bengali 8 Jul 91 p 4

[Article by Matiur Rahman: "The Constitutional Amendment and the Aspirations of the People"]

[Text] On last 2 July, a new chapter was opened in the political history of Bangladesh. On that day, the ruling party BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] tabled a historical resolution in the Sansad (Parliament) with the objective of replacing the presidential form of government by a parliamentary form of government. A bright possibility has been created toward the successful end of a long struggle during the last one and a half decades against autocratic rule. Moreover, the struggle for democracy, which ran continuously for the last nine years against the autocratic rule of Ershad, finally achieved a remarkable victory. We can also claim it as another important success for the mass movement of the 1990's.

The 11th and the 12th Amendment Bills of 1991, proposed by the ruling party BNP in the Sansad, reflected the desire to keep the promise of the nation to the acting president on the basis of the understanding reached by the three political groups, and, to establish a parliamentary form of government in place of a presidential form of government. After these two bills, Awami League, the main opposition party, tabled another bill in the Sansad on 4 July for the establishment of a parliamentary form of government in place of the existing presidential form of government and for the return of the acting president to his previous position. Although the notice of the second bill was given two and half months ago, for a long time it was not permitted to be introduced on the floor. On the other hand, BNP was allowed to introduce the bill with two days notice.

In spite of some hesitation within the BNP leadership regarding the future form of government, they finally arrived at a political decision by showing due respect to the aspirations of the people. After the last election, the political strength of the opposition parties and the efforts of the different circles, which took a leading role in the movement against autocracy, marked a positive imprint

on the issue. Otherwise, not only the crisis in the political administration might have continued, but also different new political problems might have come up. A political stalemate might have emerged in the near future. The chance for political stabilization and democracy could have been lost to the people. For these reasons, a good opportunity came to the political atmosphere of the country after BNP took its political decision in favor of parliamentary form of government. The introduction of the bills in the Sansad created excitement among the politically conscious people. At the time of the introduction of the bills, all the BNP members including Prime Minister Begum Khaleda Zia stressed the importance of these amendments. The opposition leader Sheikh Hasina also spoke about the importance of passing a bill for a parliamentary form of government that would fully match fully the people's aspirations. This kind of understanding between the government and the opposition parties gave rise to the hope that these amendment bills would have a smooth sailing through the Sansad.

This is the desire of the common people that there should be no more debate or controversy regarding the past; rather, everyone should work together to plot a democratic path for the future. And this is the demand of the time. This is very important at this moment, because, in spite of similarity in the fundamental points, these bills for amending the constitution, introduced by the government and the opposition party, have many more important points of differences. It has been argued that some of the sections of the bills introduced by the government side do not agree with the common democratic norms or regulations. The unnecessarily rigid regulations proposed in the 12th Amendment Bill against members changing political parties and appointing ministers from outside the Sansad have valid reasons to be objected to. A similar objection could be raised against the sections of the amendment bill that dealt with the issue of election of the president. These are, no doubt, very important matters and a good understanding is necessary to resolve them.

In the proposed amendment to article 70 of the present constitution, it has been anticipated that the members of the Sansad elected from a particular party would automatically lose their membership if they resign from the party, get ousted, if they form a separate group within that party, or if they work or vote against the decision of the party inside the Sansad. If any member abstains from voting although physically present in the Sansad at the time of the voting or did not attend any meeting of the Sansad, it would be considered that the member voted against his own party. If the parliamentary leader of that party informs the Election Commission about the matter, the membership of that member would immediately be nullified and that particular seat would be declared as vacant. Once the membership of the Sansad is nullified, that person would not be able to enter into parliamentary election for a period of five years. These extremely harsh and severe steps against the people's representatives reflects the mentality of completing distrusting them. In a situation like this, the parliamentary

leader of a party can take any extreme step if he becomes displeased with any member. This type of rigid regulation cannot be found in the constitution of any country. It is agreeable that some rules should exist against members changing political parties, which might repeatedly cause the fall of government. If it is thought that the regulations incorporated in article 70 of the present constitution are not sufficient, some more realistic regulations, strictly according to the need, should be incorporated. Attempts to take more severe steps would simply lead to the possibility of returning to autocratic power. It was in the discussion for a long time that Begum Khaleda Zia and the BNP leadership were too sensitive on the question of change of government through members changing parties. They were afraid that opposition parties could break the government by creating a division in the ranks of BNP. These are the reasons for the proposed, too harsh regulations. But nothing can be done against a person's fundamental rights assured by the constitution. Regulations such as, if someone resigns from a party, he would lose his membership in the Sansad and would not be able to enter into election for five years for a seat in the Sansad, are no doubt too much. Moreover, the proposal that says that the membership would immediately be cancelled as soon as the leader of the parliamentary party would inform the Election Commission—is no doubt against the basic principle of justice as the member does not get a chance to defend his case. These antidemocratic proposals of the amendment bill should be repealed. The main thing is that the section, which deals with the resignation of a member of the Sansad, should be balanced in a way that the fundamental right of thought and conscience (Article 38 of the constitution) of a member is protected as well as the interest of a stable parliamentary democratic form of government is secured.

The second issue, which might create a debate in the Sansad, is the proposal to appoint no more than one-fifth of the cabinet members from outside the Sansad. This kind of provision is in the present administrative system of the presidential form of government. Such a provision cannot be kept in a parliamentary form of government. The general practice in this regard is that if an outside person is appointed as a minister, he has to be elected as a member of the Sansad within six months. Otherwise, he cannot continue to work as a minister. Such a provision was in the first constitution of Bangladesh. A similar provision is in the Indian constitution. But under the present circumstances of our country, the necessity of specialized experts should be given serious consideration. Those experts who are not involved in direct politics or who cannot be elected to the Sansad but whose expertise is needed in the government—a provision of this kind should be included in the interest of the administration. For this reason, a provision could be made for appointing not more than one-tenth of the cabinet members from outside who have the eligibility to run for election. But the ministers who lose in the election, should not be appointed on moral grounds.

The president is the highest person in the state and his position is a national institution. Like other elections, a presidential election should be free and independent. So, the responsibility to conduct this election should be in the hands of the independent Election Commission. This provision was in the 1972 Constitution of Bangladesh. This type of provision could be found in the constitutions of India and Pakistan. In spite of such precedence, it is not understandable why BNP wants to hand over to the speaker the responsibility of conducting the presidential election.

A minute scrutiny of the 12th Amendment Bill reveals the fact that BNP introduced some proposals, such as the resignation of a member etc., just to ensure that they could remain in power. So, BNP wants to keep the matter of the presidential election in the hands of the speaker who is also a member of BNP. It is difficult to understand why BNP is so scared. The previous rulers amended the constitution repeatedly to remain in power and to solidify their positions. But the ultimate result was not good for anyone. Constitution is not made to serve the purpose of a party or of a particular period of time. It must be universal and for all time. It can be said from the past experience that the problems will only increase if an attempt is made to amend the constitution so that to maintain the continuity of the rule of one party. At the time of introducing these amendment bills, Begum Khaleda said that these bills were brought not to make any particular person happy or for anyone's interest, but these changes are needed for ourselves and the generations to come to establish a stable democracy. We will hope that the BNP leadership will reconsider those amendment proposals after having an open discussion with all other parties, irrespective of opinion.

Another aspect of the 11th and 12th Amendment Bills introduced by BNP should be considered. In accordance with the outline framed by the three groups, the 12th Amendment should be taken as the 11th and the 11th Amendment should be taken as the 12th, and, by this, the issue of establishing a parliamentary democracy would come first and then would come the question of handing over power of the acting president and his return to his old position. If any complicity arises on the question of which should be dealt first, both the amendments could be dealt and passed together. In that case, there should be no objection either from the government or from the opposition party. When there is unanimity on the main issue, it is hoped that other small issues could be settled through discussion. The fifth national Sansad could serve a historical and glorious role by unanimously passing the 11th and 12th amendments. It is the common desire of everyone that all the parties would do their best to pass the amendments on the basis of unanimity, which was born through the aspiration of establishing a parliamentary democracy in the country.

The country is faced with a great social and economic crisis as a result of the long, autocratic rule. To get over this situation, a cultivation of democratic values and norms in all the aspects of life is necessary. To make a

start on that road, we should march forward on the basis of understanding after forgetting the bitterness of the past. The people of our nation want to see from both the main parties—BNP and Awami League—a liberal approach and real political wisdom.

Finance Minister Addresses Dhaka Businessmen

91AS1447A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 2 Aug 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] Finance and Planning Minister Saifur Rahman Thursday emphasised the need for eradicating all kinds of indiscipline and mismanagement from the country's financial institutions in the interest of unhindered economic growth, reports BSS.

Addressing the members of Dhaka Metropolitan Chamber of Commerce and Industry in Dhaka the minister said discipline has to be restored in national economic activities at all costs.

The Finance Minister called for cooperation from all quarters to attain economic self-reliance. He said it is also necessary to build good relationship and trust with foreign countries and donor agencies to continue our development activities.

The Finance Minister said that the pattern of entire global economy was fast changing and even the USSR had sought assistance and cooperation from developed countries to build its economy.

"Our scope for getting special consideration as a non-aligned or Third World country is becoming narrower day by day because of global changes," he said. The Finance Minister stressed the need for increasing internal resources to be able to continue providing subsidies in the needed sectors, instead of merely depending on foreign aid.

Referring to the impending visit of the World Bank Vice President this week to Dhaka, the Finance Minister said donor agencies would be impressed to note that we have achieved discipline and control in our economic activities.

Dispelling certain criticism, the Finance Minister said, the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] Government had no scope to deviate from its election commitments of establishing accountable government, democratic institutions, rule of law, market economy and strong private sector.

"We are going to dispose of very soon all government shares lying with the public enterprises," he said. We will disinvest everything we have still in our hands, he added.

Replying to the queries of the chamber members the minister said, the list of bank defaulters or borrowers of bank money was published in the interest and demand from the public and not to malign the country's business community and industrial entrepreneurs. He said, "we

have now a sovereign parliament and the government was bound to disclose facts to public representatives.

The minister, however, agreed with views expressed by Chamber members that there should be a broad difference in the categorisation between the genuine borrowers and willful defaulters.

Turning to VAT [value-added tax] the minister said it was a very scientific and improved tax system in the present day world. This system is soon going to be introduced everywhere as a universal system, he said, adding we would require some time to dispel controversies and complications relating to VAT. The countries which already introduced the system had to face similar situation, he added.

Earlier, Chamber President Syed Manzur Elahi in his address of welcome put forward a number of suggestions and demands relating to banking, taxation and industrial activities and other economic problems.

Military Share of Budget Criticized

91AS1157A Dhaka SANGBAD in Bengali 27 Jun 91 p 4

[Article by Saiyad Ali Kabir: "Democracy and the Military Budget"]

[Text] A military budget is a debatable issue in our country. There should be an open and enlightened debate about this matter. We would hope that the matter would be debated openly in the country. It is expected that the military budget in a democratic country would be debated throughout the nation and especially in the Sansad (Parliament).

The military budget would be inevitably large in a country that is under any form of military rule—direct or indirect. In that case, the allotment in that budget does not depend on proper justification. It would, rather, depend on the calculation that how much arms are necessary to remain in power. Moreover, the presence of an external enemy would increase the amount in the budget. This is self-evident and needs no example to prove.

A military budget has a close link with a country's geographical, political, economic and international situation, and, perhaps, with its cultural heritage. In our case, we know all these factors. One of these basic factors is the nature of our relationship with India. Is it wise to have a fixed idea about this matter? Moreover, accepting the fact that India is our friend, still, do we not need to have a military budget to protect our sovereignty? Who knows when and how the direction of wind may change.

Now, let us talk about this serious subject, a subject which has come up in private conversation but never raised in public discussion. It is impossible for us to build a military security system against India. I cannot justify the logic of building up a system that would serve as resistance for two or three weeks in case of an

eventuality. To do better, one has to be not only a military expert but also an expert in the affairs of international relations. In other words, the question is whether we would be able to consolidate the world opinion in our favor within a short period of time. Also, would a fixed idea on this issue be of any use in the rapidly changing world of today.

So, we agree that the case for an additional increase in the number of troops in our standing army is invalid. There are some reasons behind this. It is expensive to keep a standing army. Moreover, to maintain proper standards, many people would have to retire from different levels in the military and arrangements should be made to provide alternative employment for them or some opportunity for doing business in the private sector.

In the feudal system, after retirement the military officers had at least one door opened—to return to their zamindaries [farm]. But when the military officers are from middle-class society, the problem becomes complicated. Pakistan and even India discovered this painful fact but we are simply avoiding this issue. We increased the number of army troops after 1975. Moreover, we made it easy for both deserving and undeserving individuals to acquire wealth in our controlled capitalistic economy. Our experience shows that seizing the opportunity, many of the high-ranking military and civilian officers attempted to become rich rapidly.

Let us go back to the main theme of our discussion. Is there any alternative method to improve our military? Have we thought about that? One alternative is to introduce compulsory military training, create a militia, increase the number of reservists and, thus, dependence on standing army would gradually be decreased. Israel, the enemy of the Arabs, increased its military strength on the basis of the reservists. But they have the most modern weapons given to them by the United States. Otherwise, it is not possible for them to exist with so little manpower.

There are solid reasons for the creation of a militia in Bangladesh. The people are extremely patriotic. The village peasantry, the city artisan, and the lower middle-class people would never allow to lose their independence. They would protect the country even at the cost of their lives. The country's rivers and canals will stand as lines of battle. The newly built roads and bridges might provide the enemy with some advantages for rapid and easy transportation. From this angle, Bengal before 1947 was a better place. If the militia and the reservists are powerful, nobody can capture today's Bangladesh. It is better to accept this reality. The city people undermine the achievement of the liberation war of Bangladesh. The critics of the liberation war do not know how a country gains its independence. They say that we won the war with the help of India. Definitely, India helped us at the time of our independence war. At that time, their interest and ours matched. So, we sought their help at the time of the war of independence. Their help speeded up

the course of gaining independence. But no one should belittle our own efforts and achievements in the war of independence. Even the enemy of our liberation war recognizes this achievement.

We must consider another aspect of our military budget. The more we spend on military, the less we will spend on social needs especially development work. When military barracks are built, the budget allocated for development work suffers and important aspects of development program face shortage. A senior military officer once told me an important matter. The Ershad [the ousted leader of Bangladesh] government spent a lot of money to build military barracks. As a result, the amount of military budget was not spent properly. Because Ershad wanted to beautify the city of Dhaka, he also wanted to decorate the military barracks. Instead of spending money for the decoration of the barracks, that amount could have been spent to develop the training program of the military. Actually, there is no scope to spend money unnecessarily in the military budget. What is to be spent should be spent judiciously. Unnecessary spending never helps. The military officers' clubs would dazzle the eyes of the new recruits. And here begins their detachment from the people.

There should be an and enlightened debate about our military budget. All the parties and groups should participate. Above all, we should give more importance to the matter of how our relationship with India could be improved. To determine this, there is no place for emotion. Emotion is the weak expression of patriotism. We would try to maintain good relations with India. This is the responsibility of both countries. I do not believe that we might have a war with India. But we must be prepared to protect our own country. In case of necessity, we will fight to the last. Our country must be ready for any eventuality. But a democratic foundation is needed to make the basis of military preparation. Our relationship with India is a political matter. The people will build the foundation of this relationship in a democratic manner. There cannot be any alternative to it. Any other kind of foundation would only create confusion in the national as well as in the international sphere and would keep people in fear of a bugbear.

On the 6th of last December, the three chiefs of the military spoke about their respect for democracy. Since 1958, people had been harassed by the military so many times that a clear sense of indifference grew among them. This feeling of indifference should be wiped out by creating a new tradition. One very important point should be mentioned here. The new generation is entering into new fields of activity—either as a student or as a worker. Those good students, who came from middle-class families, are getting ready to go to universities or professional institutions. Some good students, who got a star in educational tests, entered the armed forces. This new blood, the new generation, is present everywhere. We would hope that it would bring good results.

There is an important question to be settled—what kind of influence the military should have in the life of the nation. The answer is simple. The members of the armed forces have the same democratic rights as any other citizen. More clearly speaking, they have the right to cast votes like other citizen. Nothing more than that. The military's relationship with the nation's politics should be just like the one practised by the bureaucracy or the working people. Some people argue that militaries in the Third World countries have a special role. All this big talk was because of the cold war. Now that period has ended. We do not want to see the Pakistani model of armed forces in the politics of our nation.

In our country, an unseen wall separates civilian and military lives. The members of the armed forces are, perhaps, unable to interact easily with the civilians. The civilians, on the other hand, cannot relate to them in a normal way. This wall should be removed. This mutual lack of trust causes tremendous harm to the nation. I intentionally avoid using the term 'nonmilitary' for the civilians because such a term belittles the larger portion of our countrymen. "Civilian" is a safe word without the smell of military. In the interest of the country, I will hope that after removing this unseen wall, we will discuss the military budget with an open mind and we will be able to come to a mutual understanding about it.

Awami League Central Executive Committee Meets

91AS1452A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 6 Aug 91 pp 1, 10

[Text] The four-day extended meeting of the Central Executive Committee of Bangladesh Awami League ended in Dhaka Monday adopting a number of resolutions including the demand of the party to repeal "indemnity ordinance" which barred the trial of the killers of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman and his family members, reports BSS.

The meeting resolved that the ordinance, which was later incorporated in the Constitution through the Fifth Amendment, is detrimental to fundamental human rights as well as against the humanity. There should not be two laws in a country for the killers, it said adding "whoever may be the killer, he or she should be tried under the existing law of the land."

The meeting observed that if this cardinal principle of law was not followed, killing, coup, and conspiracy would continue in the country, and as such, the meeting demanded repeal of the Indemnity Bill to show respect to the law and the joint declaration of the three Alliances.

The meeting also expressed total support to the bill brought by Awami League in the Jatiya Sangsad to repeal the ordinance.

The meeting protested the autocratic provisions detrimental to fundamental and democratic rights of the

people which were included in the Constitution amendment bill placed in the House by the select committee and demanded deletion of those provisions to give democracy an institutional shape. In this connection, the meeting observed that a process was in progress to adopt the bill with further amendment and improvement in the interest of establishing unfettered democracy and parliamentary form of government.

It resolved that the party was committed to establishing a sovereign Parliament and unfettered parliamentary system which were clearly mentioned in the amendment bill placed by the party at the Sangsad.

The meeting observed that Awami League was making all-out efforts for launching the nation's march towards democracy and parliamentary system. But it added that there were some provisions in the amendment bill brought by the Treasury Bench which were against the fundamental rights of the people and democracy.

Expressing deep concern over the fast deterioration of law and order in the country, the meeting observed that the nation, after successful mass upsurge, did not expect such a serious situation, especially within a short period of the rule of the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] government. The meeting particularly mentioned that over 60 to 70 educational institutions including four universities, had been closed following massive campus violence. Particularly, it observed that the Vice-Chancellor and the teachers of Chittagong University were kept hostages for a long time by the Islami Chhatra Shibir, an anti-liberation student organisation.

The meeting also observed that the whole nation had become the hostage of armed hoodlums who were indulging in various anti-social activities like dacoity, murder, rape, hijacking and looting. The party called upon the people to resist such terrorist designs.

Expressing deep concern over the escalation of prices of essentials, the meeting called upon the government to take necessary measures to bring down the prices within the purchasing capacity of the common people.

The meeting demanded immediate implementation of the Pay Commission report considering the prevailing condition of the government employees.

The meeting demanded withdrawal of Value Added Tax (VAT) system which has already inflicted adverse effects on the country's economy, industrial sector and commercial and trade activities.

It observed that although tax on 25 bigha was officially waived, the decision as yet to be implemented due to many obstacles. The meeting demanded total implementation of the decision and writing off of all arrear taxes.

The meeting also demanded exemption of agri-loan up to Taka 5,000 and interest on Taka 10,000.

It demanded proper distribution of relief materials among the flood victims. It also alleged that various corrupt practices were going on with relief works.

Subsidy for jute growers and fair prices of raw jute were demanded so that the peasants could survive.

It demanded annulment of Enemy Property Act to save the minority community from various kinds of intimidation and harassment.

The meeting adopted a number of resolutions of organisational matters.

BAKSAL-Awami League Merger Noted

91AS1450A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
3 Aug 91 pp 1, 8

[Text] BAKSAL [Bangladesh Awami Krishak Sromik League] Chairman Mohiuddin Ahmed, MP [member of Parliament] yesterday said his party will officially merge with Awami League on 13 August to advance the politics of pro-liberation camp against fundamentalist and reactionary elements.

Talking to a news agency Mohiuddin admitted that the revival of BAKSAL in 1983 was not due to any difference of ideology. Both Awami League and BAKSAL believe in the same political ideology and programme of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, he said.

"Our disagreement was mainly over the interpretation of the political philosophy and programme of Bangabandhu," the BAKSAL Chairman said. "BAKSAL was a test case to uphold the thoughts and ideology of Bangabandhu but we failed.

Asked what are the circumstances that now prompted BAKSAL to join Awami League, Mohiuddin said two political parties having the same origin and philosophy should not exist at the same time. "It is absurd and suicidal."

After the 27 February Parliamentary elections. The BAKSAL leadership felt the urgency of reunification with the Awami League, he said and was confident "our unity will open a new gate for greater unity of pro-liberation forces."

A four-member committee with Amir Hossain Amu, Abdul Jalil, Lutfar Rahman and Syed Ahmed has been formed to work out the procedure of merger, he said in reply to a question.

Mohiuddin replied in the negative when asked if repeal of the indemnity ordinance bill is a pre-condition to their support for the passage of the 11th and 12th amendment bills.

"It can never be a pre-condition because we stand for parliamentary system. But it is the desire of the people to repeal the indemnity ordinance for holding trial of the killers of Bangabandhu Sheikh Mujib."

On campus violence, the BAKSAL leader alleged that agents and provocateurs are involved in it to create political instability. "It is ominous."

The BAKSAL-Awami League merger will follow a special council of BAKSAL on 13 August, Awami League President Sheikh Hasina will welcome the BAKSAL leaders and workers to her party at the Engineers Institute later in on the day.

Five-Party Alliance Discusses Campus Violence

9IAS1445A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
1 Aug 91 p 3

[Text] Leaders of the Five-Party Alliance at its Steering Committee meeting held here Tuesday said that the left progressive front would announce programmes and organise a country wide mass resistance against violence in the educational institutions unless it was not stopped immediately, reports BSS.

Expressing deep concern at the armed conflict on the Dhaka University campus, the leaders said that the student forums of ruling Bangladesh Nationalist Party [BNP] and the opposition Awami League had turned the educational institutions into battle grounds all over the country. "It must stop at any cost immediately," they said in a resolution adopted at the meeting held with Convenor of the Alliance Comrade Bimal Biswas in the chair. Alliance leaders Messrs Khalequzzaman Bhuiyan, Shubrangshu Chakravarty, Abdullah Sarker, A.F.M. Mahbubul Haq, Moinuddin Khan Badal, Haider Akbar Khan Rono, Noyeem Jahangir, Hasanul Haq Inu, Sharif Nurul Ambia, Dr. Shah Alam Mollah, Fazley Hossain Badsha and Nirmal Sen attended the meeting.

Referring to all-party conference of 12 July, they said the representatives of both Awami League and BNP had spoken against terrorism on the campus of educational institutions. But they regretted that educational institutions are being closed one after another because of the armed clash between the rival student groups of these two parties.

The leaders said the student forum of the ruling BNP had created a reign of terror in Tejgaon College here and in Rajshahi city, while the members of the law enforcing agency were silent. The Five-party leaders hoped that both Awami League and BNP would take necessary steps to stop violence created by Jamaat-Shibir clique on the Chittagong University campus.

Student Leaders Queried on Post-Ershad Gains

9IAS1446A Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English
1 Aug 91 pp 1, 8

[Quotation marks as published]

[Text] Ten students leaders who were at the front line of the mass movement of 90 against the autocratic regime

of Ershad expressed their opinions about what they had gained regarding their respective goals after the defeat of Ershad.

Most of the students leaders said that the main goals of the mass movement of 90 were not reached till now.

DUCSU [Dhaka university Central Students Union] General Secretary Khairul Kabir Khokon in an exclusive interview with this correspondent said, "we had two main goals of the mass movement of 90, one was to remove the autocratic rule of Ershad and the other was to establish a democratic government in the country." Answering a question about the result of the mass movement of 90 he said, "We have already gained our goals, since democratic government has been established after an election in the democratic process." He also said the government had fulfilled an important point from the ten-point demands of the students community by raising the age of entry to government job.

He said that a certain student organisation under the protection of a big political party was trying to block the way of realising the 10-point demands by creating violence in the educational institutions and by giving shelter to the killers of Dr. Samsul Alam Khan Milon in their organisation.

Bangladesh Chhatra League [BCL], DU [Dhaka University] unit President Golam Mostafa Sujon talking with this reporter said the goal of the mass movement of 90 was not totally implemented. The government has nominally realised a little part of the 10-point demands, but the opportunity for new appointment has not been created till now," he added. He also said that the present government was betraying the joint declaration of three alliances. He said, the BCL (S-A) with all other student organisations would launch a greater movement if the 10-point demands were not implemented soon.

Bangladesh Chhatra League (N-S) General Secretary Shafi Ahmed said, we have already achieved some fruits of the mass movement and we hope finally to achieve the goal. Referring to the verdict of the people in the last parliamentary polls he said at least a government had come to power through democratic process which was a prime demand of the people. But it was a matter of regret that violence in the educational institutions were increasing day by day though a democratic government was formed.

The withdrawal of illegal arms, arrest and trial of the terrorists and a halt to the rehabilitation of the terrorists in political parties alone can violence in campus. [sentence as published]

JCD [Jatiya Chhatra Dal] Joint Convenor Fazlul Haq Milon said, "we have gained success in the movement of 90 as the present government is fulfilling our demands one after another despite a weak economy.

Citing an example he said the government has already raised the age limit for government service, exempted loan

up to Taka five thousand and it is going to switch over to the parliamentary form of government which was the major pledges to the people during the mass movement.

The mass movement envisaged short-term and long-term gains and we have already achieved the short-term gain by removing the autocratic regime of Ershad and are how to achieve the long-term goal," said the president of Chhatra Union Nasiruddoza. He also said the political parties are not extending their proper cooperation to the government to achieve the long-term goal of the mass movement of 90.

Noor Ahmed Bakul, the president of Chhatra Moitree when asked to express his opinion about the fruit of the mass movement of 90 said "we have failed to fulfill expectations because the present government has broken the joint declaration of three alliances."

He also said the demands of the students community since 1952 were not realised, because the student wing of the BNP [Bangladesh Nationalist Party] as well as the Awami League were creating violence frequently in the educational institutions.

Kamruzzaman Ansari DU unit President of BCL (S-A) said, the 10-point demands of the student community are neglected by this government. He also said the government was rehabilitating the terrorists in the campus apprehending further movement by the students against the present government like the movement of 90 against the autocratic government of Ershad.

Abdus Samad, president of Chhatra Sena said, "we have not achieved the real goal of the mass movement of 90, because, we are not getting those things, which we should get after the fall of Ershad." Citing examples he said the age limit for the government job had been increased, but

the government had not created any opportunity for new appointment till now. He also said we were the victims of international political conspiracy and the indifference of the powerful quarters of the country were responsible for it. He further said terrorism in the educational institutions were also responsible for it.

BCL (N-S) DU unit President Roknuzzaman Rokon said, "We have achieved the goal of the mass movement of 90 party as the government is unable to take quick step in all matters with the cooperation of the opposition parties. Answering a question about terrorism in the educational institutions he said" nobody can create terrorism without the shelter of any student organisations. He called upon all student organisations to stop giving shelter to the terrorists in their respective organisations.

Chhatra Federation Vice-President Golam Faruk said, Ershad style rule is still prevailing in the country, but a courage has been infused in the minds of the people so that they will be able to take part in any movement in future to defeat any autocratic government if needed."

Ershad's Former Prime Minister Released

91AS1449A Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER
in English 3 Aug 91 p 1

[Text] Former Prime Minister of Ershad Government and a senior leader of Jatiya Party Mr. Mizanur Rahman Chowdhury was released from detention on Friday. Earlier he was shifted to PG Hospital for treatment. Mr. Chowdhury was put under detention for over three and a half months.

A good number of Jatiya Party workers and leaders received the elderly leader from PG when he was released. He has been suffering from some diseases, according to Jatiya Party sources.

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